



BIOGRAPHIA NAUTICA:
OR,
M E M O I R S
OF THOSE
ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN,
TO WHOSE
INTREPIDITY AND CONDUCT
THE
ENGLISH ARE INDEBTED,
FOR
The VICTORIES of their FLEETS, the INCREASE of their
DOMINIONS, the EXTENSION of their COMMERCE,
AND THEIR
PRE-EMINENCE ON THE OCEAN.

INTERSPERSED WITH

The most material Circumstances of NAVAL HISTORY, from
the NORMAN INVASION to the Year 1779.
Embellished with COPPER-PLATES.

By DR. J^S CAMPBELL, and JOHN KENT, Esq.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

ENGLAND IS A LAND WHICH CAN NEVER BE CONQUERED WHILST
THE KINGS THEREOF KEEP THE DOMINION OF THE SEAS.
SIR WALTER RALEIGH

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M E M O I R S

O F

SIR THOMAS HOWARD,

Afterwards EARL of SURREY, DUKE of
NORFOLK, &c.

THIS illustrious Nobleman was eldest Brother to Sir *Edward*, and being equal to Him in Point of Merit, would have been mentioned, first, if it had been proper that He should have preceded a senior Admiral, *Thomas, Earl of Surrey*, restored afterwards to the Title of the Duke of *Norfolk*, Treasurer to *Henry, the Eighth*, and the Father of these gallant Seamen, was, like Them, perpetually ready to serve his King, and Country.

The antient, and generally uninterrupted Union which had been preserved between the Crown of *France*, and *Scotland*, must naturally have suggested to the King of *England* that, immediately on the Declaration of War with *Lewis, the Twelfth*, *James, the Fourth*, the Ally of that Prince, would arm in his Defence. In Order to remove all Pretences for a Rupture, Sir *Thomas Dacre*, and Sir *Robert Drury* were appointed

Commissioners for the Reparation of Outrages committed, since the last Peace, against the *Scots* (a). But, an unexpected Event defeated the Resolves of *Henry*, and instead of appeasing, served only to render that Nation more inveterate against Him.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eleven, Sir *Andrew Breton*, or *Barton*, a *Scotch* Merchant had obtained Letters of Mart, (from his Sovereign,) against the *Portuguese*, who had murdered his Father, and seized his Ship, for which Injuries He had in vain sought Redress from the Court of *Lisbon*. With two stout Vessels, the One named the *Lion*, and the Other, *Jenny Perwin*, He infested the *English* Coasts, interrupting all Navigation, and taking Ships belonging to different States, under Pretence that They were freighted with Goods, from *Portugal* (b). On Complaint of these Grievances to the Privy-Council of *England*, the Father of our Admiral, at that Period, Earl of *Surrey*, observed that "the narrow Seas should not be so infested, whilst He had Estate enough to furnish a Ship, or a Son capable of commanding it (c)." *Pirates*

Accordingly two Ships were immediately fitted out (d), either at the Expence of the Earl of *Surrey*, or of the two Brothers, Sir *Thomas*, and Sir *Edward Howard*. For this Conjecture, two Reasons may be advanced: The first is, that had They gone with the royal Commission, they would probably, have been intrusted with a Squadron. The second is, that a Commission was unnecessary. In the Eye of the Law,

Pirates

(a) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 13. p. 301.

(b) Hall, Folio 15.—*Lestæi de Rebus gestis Scotorum*, Lib. 8. p. 355.—*Buchanan*, Lib. 13. p. 424, 425.

(c) Lloyd's *State Worthies*, p. 143.

(d) Grafton, p. 960.—*Holingshed*, V. 2. p. 811.

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Pirates are (*Hofles humani Generis*,) the Enemies of Mankind, and all are at Liberty to act against Them. It was on this Principle that the King proceeded, and grounded the Justification of his Conduct (e). Most of our Historians have overturned these Arguments, by styling Sir Edward Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, and observing that his Brother served under Him, on this Occasion. The last Position may be Fa&, as Sir Edward was, then, a young, and inexperienced Officer, who needed the Assistance of his Brother; but that the former is erroneous, seems evident from the Date of his Patent, in the following Year (f). On the whole, We may venture to infer that this was a private Expedition, undertaken with the Knowledge, and Consent of the King, but not either by his special Commission, or immediate Authority.

The Brothers, having been some Days at Sea, were separated by a Tempest, which, however, drove Sir Thomas Howard within Sight of Sir Andrew Barton, (in the *Lion*) whom he immediately engaged (g). The Fight proved long, and doubtful: The Defence of Barton, an experienced Seaman, and surrounded by a determined Crew, was desperate to an Ext. He fell, at the Head of his Associates, cheering them with the Boatswain's Whistle, even in the Agonies of Death. No Circumstance, except the Loss of their Captain, could have induced them to submit, which, at length, They did, and were received by Sir Thomas Howard, (who was endued with too much A 3 Bravery

(e) See his Answer to the Remonstrances of the King of Scotland.

(f) 4 Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(g) Godwin's Annals, p. 8.—Cooper's Chronicle, Fol. 276. b.

Bravery, not to admire it in another,) to Quarter, and fair Usage (*h*). In the mean Time, Sir *Edward* fought, and took the Confort of the *Lion*, which was likewise a strong Vessel, and exceedingly well manned. Both these Ships, with as many of the Crew as were left alive, being in Number one hundred, and fifty, They brought, on the second of August, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eleven, into the River *Thames*, as Trophies of their Victory. The Men were sent to the Palace of the Archbishop of *Tork*, now called *Whitehall*, where, during some Time, they remained Prisoners, but were afterwards dismissed, and passed into *Scotland* (*i*).

James the Fourth, exasperated at the Conduct of the *English*, directed his Ambassadors to insist on instant Satisfaction: To these *Henry* returned this memorable Answer. "The Punishment of Pirates was never considered as a Breath of the Peace amongst Princes (*k*). This Answer was far from contenting the King of *Scotland*, who, from that Period, to his unfortunate Death, retained an insurmountable Aversion from the *English*, and their Sovereign.

This remarkable Event hath been reserved for the Life of Sir *Thomas Howard*, as the Ship commanded by Sir *Andrew Barton* became his Prize. That Sir *Edward* was made Admiral, in Preference to his elder Brother, may have arisen from that superior Knowledge which He, in the End, acquired of naval Affairs; or from a Desire expressed by the Family, to have Sir *Thomas* continually at Hand, to assist his Father, whose Time was not more engrossed by his honourable Employments of Lord-Treasurer, Earl-Marshal,

(*h*) Stowe's Annals, p. 489.

(*i*) Herber's Life of Hen. VIII.

(*k*) Hall, folio 15. b.—Sir William Drummond's History of the five James's, p. 139.

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Marshal, and Lieutenant of the *North*, than by his necessary Endeavour to counter act, for his own Sake, the generally fatal Consequences of the Dislike, and Envy of the powerful *Wolsey*, (l).

Sir *Thomas Howard* accompanied the Marquis of *Dorset* on his Expedition to *Guienne*, which ended in the Conquest of *Navarre*, by *Ferdinand*. Here, when the Commander in Chief fell sick, He was nominated to succeed Him, and discovered much Prudence, and Activity, in his Attention to the Forces who returned with Him, to *England* (m). On his Arrival, He was informed of the Death of Sir *Edward Howard*, Lord High Admiral, and, soon afterwards, invested with that Office. On this Occasion, He thanked the King, not only for so gracious an Example of his Confidence, but for affording Him an Opportunity to revenge the Loss of his intrepid Brother. At that Period, the *French* Ships were hovering near the *English* Coasts, when Sir *Thomas* so effectually scoured the Seas, that not a Bark of that Nation durst venture to appear. On the first of July, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirteen he landed in *Whinsand* Bay, plundered the adjacent Country, and reduced a considerable Town to Ashes. *Henry* was, then, in *Picardy*, with his Ally the Emperor of *Germany*, who enlisted Himself in his Service, wore the Cross of *Saint George*, and received for Pay, an hundred Crowns a Day, as one of his Subjects, and Captains. During his Absence, *James*, the Fourth of *Scotland*, invaded *England* with a powerful Army, on a Supposition that he should find it almost defenceless. Of this Mistake, He was fatally convinced by *Thomas*, Earl

(l) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 131.---Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, V. 1. Book 1.

(m) Grafton, p. 962.

Earl of *Surrey*, who marched towards Him, with a more considerable Force which strengthened as it moved. On the News of this Invasion, Sir *Thomas Howard* prepared for his Return, and landing, shortly afterwards, with five thousand Veterans, made Haste to join his Father. The Herald commanded by the Earl of *Surrey* to bid the King of *Scotland* make ready for the Battle, was also, directed to inform Him from the Lord Admiral, that he was come, in Person, to answer for the Death of Sir *Andrew Barton*; a Message which seems to prove that this Transaction was not at all regarded as a National Concern. This Defiance occasioned the famous Battle of *Flodden-Field*, which was fought on the eighth Day of September, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirteen. The Van-Guard was commanded by Sir *Thomas Howard*, whose Bravery, and Prudence contributed, in a great Measure, to that glorious Victory, in which the King of *Scotland* fell, with the Flower of his Army, but not without the Slaughter of Numbers of the English (n).

The Mind of *Henry* was, now, so deeply impressed with a Sense of the Obligations which He had received from the Family of the *Howards*, that, at a Parliament holden, during the next Year, He restored *Thomas*, Earl of *Surrey*, to the Title of *Norfolk* (o), and created the Lord Admiral, Earl of *Surrey*, who took his Seat in the House of Peers, not as the Son of a Duke, but according to his Creation (p.) These Favours

(n) *Grafton*, p. 1984. — *Holingshed*, V. 2. p. 829. — *Speed*, p. 755. — See an original Letter, dated *Volwrie*, Sept. 16, 513, and written by Queen *Catherine*, to *Henry* the Eighth, informing Him of this Victory, in *Sylloge Epist. a variis Angl. Princip. script.* p. 106.

(o) A. D. 1514.

(p) Ent. 5 Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 11. — *Journals of Parliament*, under the same Year.

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yours proceeded from the King ; and that, even in Spite of *Wolsey*, who gave such continual Uneasiness to the Duke of *Norfolk*, that He, at length, esteemed Himself happy to resign the Office of Lord High-Treasurer to his Son.

At the Conclusion of the War with *France*, the martial Talents of the Admiral were, for a Time, inactive : But when the Disturbances broke out in *Ireland*, He was appointed to the Lieutenantcy of that Kingdom (g), where He humbled the *O'Neils*, and *O'Carrolls* ; suppressed the Rebellion fomented by *Desmond* ; and without affecting Severity, brought all Things into as good Order as was consistent with the Temper of the Inhabitants. A Writer, to whom the Public is much indebted for the History of *Ireland* (r), observes that howsoever unaffecting the particular Incidents of this Administration may appear, the general Spirit of *Surrey's* Government was such as merits the most honourable Remembrance. His Justice, and Equity commanded the Love and Admiration of the People whom He ruled ; His Moderation disarmed all Opposition, and Animosity ; and the magnificent Hospitality of his Court, supported without Oppression, or any illiberal Pursuit of private Emolument, was particularly captivating to a generous, and unrefined People. To these popular Virtues, He added a zealous Solicitude for the Interests of his royal Master, and a vigilant Attention to the Circumstances of the Country, in which He was stationed. After a Government of two Years, He returned to *England*, with the Prayers, and Acclamations of all the *Irish* Subjects. The less dissembling paid this Tribute to his Equity and Generosity ;

(g) A. D. 1512.

(r) Leland's History of Ireland, V. 2. Book 3. Chap. 6. p. 130.

rosity; Those more sagacious, and politic, had good Reason to lament his Departure, which exposed their Country once more to the factious Contests of their own rival Lords, and removed the only Restraint which could prevent the fickle, and turbulent Race of *Irish* Natives from renouncing their Submissions, and relapsing into their usual Disorders (1).

The Breaking out of the *French* War was the Pretext of recalling the Earl of *Surrey*. Previous to the Declaration of it, the Ships of that Country had, as usual, interrupted the *English* Commerce, and treated, as Enemies, the People whom their Ambassadors still acknowledged in the Style of Friends. The Lord Admiral, on his Arrival, remedied this Inconvenience, and having fitted out a small Squadron of proper Vessels, intrusted the Operations of it to a vigilant Commander who, soon, either dispersed, or took the Privateers of the Enemy (2). In the Spring, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, the Vice-Admiral, sailed with a Fleet of twenty-eight Men of War to guard the Coasts (3); and it being apprehended that the *Scots* might add to the Number of the King's Adversaries by Sea, as well as Land, seven Frigates proceeded up the *Firth of Forth*, and burned all such Vessels as lay there, and were in a Condition to put to Sea (4). Meanwhile, the Admiral equipped a Royal Navy, to be united with That of the Emperor, *Charles*, the Fifth; and, as it was evident that many Inconveniencies might arise from the Appointment of several Commanders in Chief, the Earl of *Surrey*

(1) Leland's History of Ireland, V. 2. Book 3. Chap. 6.

P. 131.

(2) Grafton, p. 1052, 1053.—Stowe, p. 514.—Speed.

(3) A. D. 1522.

(4) Hall, Folio 92. b. 94. a.—Holinshed, V. 2. p. 873.—Stowe. p. 515.

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Surrey received a Commission from the Emperor, of which the following is a Copy (y).

“ CHARLES V. by the Divine Favour, and Clemency, elected most August Emperour of the *Roman*, King of *Germany, Spain, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, &c.* Archduke of *Austria, Duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Earl of Habsberg, Flanders, Tirol, &c.* Whereas the most serene and powerful Prince, *Henry VIII.* King of *England*, and *France*, Our most dear Brother, Uncle, and Confederate, according to the Tenor of the League entered into with Us, hath most justly proclaimed War against *Francis*, King of *France*, for his Breach, and Violation of the Treaty concluded with either of Us; joining therein with Us, who have been invaded by the said King of *France*. And, to carry this on more effectually, hath, among other warlike Preparations, fitted out a Fleet, which He hath put under the Command of the most illustrious *Thomas*, Earl of *Surrey*, Our most dear Cousin, Knight of the most noble Order of the *Carter*, Lord High Admiral of *England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascony, and Aquitain*: We, likewise, with the same Reason, have decreed to infect, and invade the said common Enemy, the King of *France*, with Our Forces at Sea, by joining Our Fleet, with that of Our aforesaid most Serene Uncle, both in Consideration of the Valour, Skill, and Courage, and other singular Virtues of the said Admiral, whereby He is rendered capable, not only of this, but even of a greater Trust, as also because whatsoever is undertaken by confederate Forces, and united Arms, may be better executed, by being under the Conduct of

“ one

(y) Herbert, p. 49.

“one Captain-General, than Many: Therefore, We
“judged it not unfit, likewise to place the Charge of
“Our Fleet, and the Conduct of this War by Sea,
“under the Command of the said Admiral of *England*.
“By these, therefore, Our Letters Patent, We grant
“and give to the said most illustrious *Thomas*, Earl of
“*Surrey*, Lord High Admiral, and Captain General
“of the Navy of the aforesaid King, Our most Serene
“Uncle, the same Authority, full, and plenary Pow-
“er, over Our Royal Navy, the Captains, Soldiers,
“and Seamen thereof, of what Degree, Title, or
“Rank soever, which the said Admiral hath, in the
“King, his Master's Fleet: Both in promoting the
“Officers, in conferring the Honour of Knighthood
“on Persons of Merit, in punishing Malefactors, in
“giving out fitting Orders, judging, and trying all
“Causes, as also in executing and appointing all, and
“every Thing under his Command, according to the
“Authority by the aforesaid King to Him granted,
“and as the singular Skill and Prudence of Him, as
“Captain General, and Commander in Chief of the
“Fleet, shall, on all Occasions, judge needful, or ex-
“pedient to be done. To this End, hereby strictly
“commanding, and enjoining all our Flags, Captains,
“Lieutenants, Barons, Noblemen, Officers, Masters,
“Polots, Seamen, and all Our Soldiers, both Horse,
“and Foot, that either now are, or shall be, in Our
“Fleet, that they pay all Obedience, Duty, and Re-
“spect, to the said Earl, their Admiral, and Captain
“General, or to any Person by Him lawfully deputed,
“in all Things as is fitting, as They shall, at their
“Peril, answer the Contrary. In Witness whereof,
“We have subscribed this Our Commission with Our
“own Hand, and thereto affixed our Seal.”

GIVEN

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GIVEN in London, June the eighth, 1522, in the third Year of Our Reign over the Romans, and the seventh over the Rest of Our Dominions.

CHARLES.

By the Emperour
J. ALLEMAND.

With the united Fleets, the Lord Admiral sailed over to the Coast of *Normandy*, and landing some Forces near *Cherburg* (z), ravaged the whole Country. This, however, seems to have been a Feint, as, in a few Days, He disembarked again, on the coast of *Bretagne*, with a considerable Body of Troops, and reduced the Town of *Morlaix* (a). Having gained an immense Booty, and opened a Passage for the *English* Army, into *Champagne*, and *Picardy* (b), He first detached Sir *William Fitz-Williams* with a formidable Squadron, to scour the Seas, and to protect the Merchants, and then returned to *Southampton*, where the Emperor embarked on Board his Ship, and was safely conveyed to the Port of Saint *Anders*, in *Biscay* (c). In the fourteenth Year of the Reign of this King, the Duke of *Norfolk* resigned his Office of Lord Treasurer, which was immediately conferred on his Son, the Earl of *Surrey* (d). He was, also, appointed by *Henry* to the Command of the Army raised to invade *Scotland*; and in the Station of General, did good Service against the Duke of *Albany*, whereby all the deep Schemes of the *French* were frustrated. On the Death of his Father, the Lord Admiral was, once more, placed

(z) June 13, 1522.

(a) July 1.

(b) Grafton, p. 1063.—Cooper's Chronicle, Folio 270.—Godwin's Annals, p. 56.

(c) Herbert, p. 50.

(d) Pat. 14. Hen. VIII. p. 1.

placed at the Head of the Forces intended to act against the *Scots*, in which Enterprize, He acquitted himself with equal Honour, Justice, and Intrepidity (e).

He, afterwards, attended *Henry* abroad; and was deputed his Ambassador to that Monarch, at a Time, when He was proceeding to an Interview with the Pope (f). In the Year one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirty-seven, the Lord Admiral assisted the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, in suppressing a formidable Rebellion, covered with the specious Title of the *Pilgrimage of Grace*. Not to dwell on every Instance that can be advanced in Support of the Assertion, let it be sufficient to remark that, in all Capacities, He approved Himself an honest, and active Servant of the Crown: Yet, the King, towards the Close of his Reign, was tempted to believe that this Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son, *Henry*, Earl of *Surrey*, had conspired to seize upon his Person, and engross the Government to Themselves. The Charge was altogether destitute of Proof, and originated from the Resentment of his Duchess, the Daughter of *Edward*, Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Falsehood of his female Favourite, the Former of whom accused, whilst the Latter betrayed Him. For these imaginary Crimes, He, and his Son, were committed to the Tower; and, according to the Practice of that abominable Reign, attainted chiefly on Suspicion. By the Command of *Henry* (a Tyrant in whose Eyes, a Moment could cancel an Age of Services (g)), the Earl of *Surrey*, the most accomplished Nobleman of his Time, was beheaded, in the Presence of his Father; nor would the Duke have

(e) Hall.—Buchanan, Lib. 14.—*Lecti de Rebus gestis Scotorum*, Lib. 9.

(f) Hall, Folio 206, b. 211, b.—*Memoires du Bellay*, Liv. 3, 4.—*Dupleix*, Tom. 3. p. 391, 393.

(g) Walpole's Royal, and Noble Authors, V. 1. p. 97.

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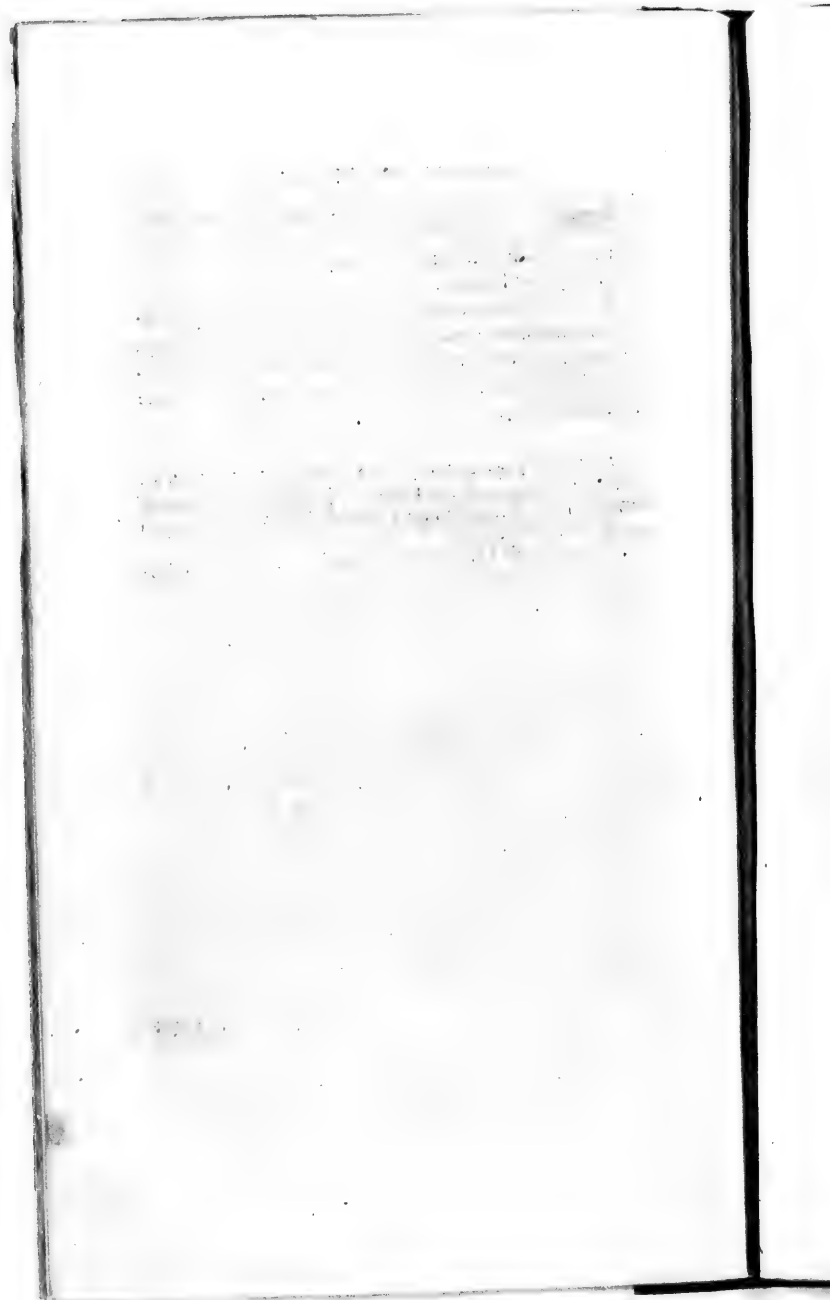
have long survived Him, (a Warrant having been granted for his Execution,) if the King had not died at that critical Juncture, and, thereby, opened a Door of Hope, and Liberty.

After all these Sufferings, He survived *Edward* the Sixth, and died in the first Year of the Reign of *Mary*, at the Age of sixty-six, when his Attainder was repealed, and the A& thereof taken from amongst the Records (h) (i).

(h) A. D. 1554.—See the A& of Repeal 1st of May, and the Characters of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Surrey, in the Preface to the History of the World, written by Sir Walter Raleigh.

(i) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 371, 379.

MEMOIRS



M E M O I R S

O F

Sir WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS,

Afterwards EARL of NORTHAMPTON, and KNIGHT
of the MOST NOBLE ORDER of the GARTER.

THE Ancestors of this intrepid Officer had rendered Themselves illustrious by public Services, and were summoned to Parliament, as Barons, to the Time of *Edward*, the Third. Sir *Thomas Fitz-Williams*, the Father of the Admiral, married *Lucia*, Daughter to *John Nevil*, Marquis of *Montacute*, by whom He had Issue, *Thomas* (slain at the Battle of *Flodden-Field*), and *William*, the Subject of these Memoirs (a). According to the Practice of the younger Sons of the Nobility, He, from his Nonage, was trained to martial Exercises, and particularly to the Sea-Service, which, at that *Æra*, was become a distinct, and regular Profession. It hath already been observed that *Henry*, the Eighth, was the first *English* Monarch who

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(a) From the Collections of R. Glover.—Somerset.

instituted a Navy-Office, appointed Commissioners, and fixed the Salaries for the Admirals, Captains, and Others in the Marine Department. We have no Authority to determine the precise Time at which Mr. *Fitz-Williams* went to Sea; but may venture to fix it in the Reign of *Henry*, the Seventh, as, in the second Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, He was appointed one of the Esquires of the King's Body.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirteen, He served, with the Rank of Captain, in the Fleet commanded by the Lord High Admiral, Sir *Edward Howard*, and during the Engagement with the French, off *Brest*, when He was severely wounded, by a broad Arrow. This Accident did not prevent his Attendance at the Siege of *Tournay*, which (although the Gates bore this vain Inscription, *Thou hast never lost thy Virginity*;) held out but eight Days, and was entered by *Henry*, on the second of October, in the same Year. Amongst the Officers who more particularly distinguished Themselves, were *Edward Guilford*, *John Dauncy*, *William Tiler*, *John Sharpe*, *William Hussey*, *John Savage*, *Christopher Garnyshe*, and our *William Fitz-Williams*. These were honoured with Knight-hood, and the Last was thenceforward constantly employed at Sea, where He rendered Himself equally serviceable to his Prince, and acceptable to the Mariners (b).

When, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twenty, the Earl of *Surrey*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was taken up with the Administration of Affairs, in that Kingdom, Sir *William Fitz-Williams* commanded the Fleet which convoyed *Henry*, on his Passage to *Calais*, near to which Place, He, with un-

(b) Hall, Folio 23. a. 45. a.—Herbert's Life of Hen. VIII. p. 334.—Stowe, p. 490, 491.

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unusual Magnificence, had an Interview with *Francis*. In two Years afterwards, when the War was declared against that Prince, Sir *William* was dispatched, with the Command of a formidable Fleet, to protect the *English* Trade, and to molest the Enemy; in both of which Commissions, He succeeded greatly to the Satisfaction of his Sovereign, and the People. In the following Year, when He was directed to prevent the Duke of *Albany* from passing with any *French* Succours into *Scotland*, He proved less fortunate. The Squadron with which He was intrusted amounted to thirty-five Sail, seven of which were sent to *Scotland*, and, entering the *Forth*, would have attacked the Enemy in the Harbour, if They had not run their Ships ashore. Thither, the *English* followed in their Boats, landed, and reduced the *Scotch* Fleet to Ashes. In the mean Time, Sir *Anthony Pointz*, the Vice Admiral, was appointed to guard the *Western* Coasts. During his Cruise, Sir *William-Fitz-Williams* fell in with twelve of the *French* Ships, on board of which were the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and several Persons of Distinction, whom the Duke of *Albany*, the Regent, had ordered to repair before Him, to *Scotland*. Giving Chace to These, He forced Them to take Refuge (after having lost two of their Ships,) within the Ports of *Dieppe*, and *Boulogne*. Here, Sir *William* left a Part of his Fleet, in Order to block up the Enemy, and with the Remainder sailed along the Coasts of *France*, disembarking the Troops at several Places, where They ravaged the Country, and set Fire to the Villages. At *Treport*, the Admiral attacked, and burned the Suburbs; and then, having destroyed all the Vessels within the Harbour, sailed back to *England*. Into this last Measure, He was deluded by the Artifices of the Duke of *Albany*, who, sensible of the Impossibility of transporting the Army

to *Scotland*, whilst the *English* kept the Sea, with a Design to intercept Them, affected to abandon his Attempt, relanded his Troops, sent Them into Quarters remote from the Coasts, and ordered his Ships to be laid up within the Harbours. But no sooner was He informed that Sir *William* had reached *England*, than He instantly assembled his Forces, and Fleet, and embarking with Them, about the Middle of September, arrived safely in *Scotland*, with *Richard de la Pole*, Brother to the Earl of *Lincoln*, and three thousand *French*, on the twenty-fourth of that Month, and the same Day, when the Earl of *Surrey* became Master of *Jedburgh* (c).

In the sixteenth Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, the Admiral was invested with the Government of the Castle of *Guines*, in *Picardy*. In the Year following, He was nominated an Ambassador to the Court of *France*, where the Fidelity, and Success, with which He executed his Commission, proved the Means of establishing Him more firmly in the good Graces of his Sovereign (d).

After the Fall of *Wolfey*, to whose Party Sir *William* had never chosen to adhere, He bore an active Share in the Proceedings of the House of Commons, and was appointed, by *Henry*, to vindicate, before that Assembly, the Conduct of Bishop *Fisher* (e). In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirty-six, He was again employed in an Embassy to *France*; and in the succeeding Year, (at which Period, He was Treasurer of the Household, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, and

(c) Herbert, p. 56.—Holingshed.—Hall, Folio 114.—*Buchanan*, Lib. 14. p. 448.—*Lefsz de Rebus gestis Scottorum*, Lib. 9. p. 406, 407.—*Drummond*, p. 180.

(d) Grafton, p. 1109.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 892.

(e) Hall, Folio 189. a.

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and Knight of the Garter,) the King, by Letters Patent, raised Him to the Dignity of Admiral of *England, Ireland, Wales, Normandy, Gascony, and Aquitaine (f)*, shortly after which Advancement, He was created Earl of *Southampton*: These Honours He is recorded to have deserved by his steady Loyalty, his great Skill, and his indefatigable Application, from his Youth, to the Business of the Marine Department (g).

The next Favour which He received from *Henry* was the Post of Lord Privy-Seal: and, in this Capacity, He passed over to *France*, with *John, Lord Russell*, who succeeded Him, as High Admiral. The war having once more broken out within that Kingdom, the Earl of *Southampton* took the Command of two Troops of Horse: A Proof that his martial Spirit was far from being extinguished, and that He still felt a Reluctance in quitting the military Service of his Country (h).

As, at this Period, perpetual Fatigues had exceedingly impaired his Constitution, He judged it necessary to make a Will, in which, amongst other Legacies, He bequeathed to *Henry*, his best Collar of the Order of the Garter, and his George, richly set with Diamonds (i).

Yet, on the Declaration of War with *Scotland*, to which Kingdom, his old Friend, and Companion in Battle, *Thomas, Duke of Norfolk*, was ordered to repair immediately with a numerous Force, the valiant Earl of *Southampton* could not brook the Thoughts of remaining at Home, inactive; but with a considerable Body of Horse, and Foot, joined the Army, and led on the Van. This Atchievement proved but the last

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(f) Pat. 28. Hen. VIII. p. 2.

(g) M. S. Collections of Sir Thomas Wriothesley.

(h) Hall, folio 243. b.

(i) Spert, q. 16.

Flashing of his Martial Flame. Overcome by Sickness, and Fatigue, He expired at *Newcastle* to the great Regret of his Sovereign, and his General, the Last of whom commanded his Banner to be borne (as it had hitherto been,) in the Front of the Troops, as a Mark of the Respect due to his Memory (*k*). By his Countess *Mabell*, Daughter to *Henry*, Lord *Clifford*, He had no Issue to inherit either his Virtues, or his Honours; but He left behind Him a natural Son, named *Thomas Fitz-Williams*, or *Fisher* (*l*). No Mention is made in Books, or Records of the Age of the Earl of *Southampton*, at the Time of his Decease; yet, if a Judgment may be formed from the Course of his Preferences, it is probable that He had not exceeded sixty Years. He appears to have been one of the first Seamen raised to an *English* Peerage. It hath been remarked, as a Circumstance which reflects a Credit on his Character, that, from an assiduous Attention to the Mariners of the Fleet, He was enabled to call each of Them by his Name; that He never took a Prize without sharing it amongst Them, nor suffered more than two Months to elapse without the full Payment of their Wages. His Zeal for the Advancement of the Prosperity of Commerce had endeared Him to the Merchants; nor was He less esteemed by his Sovereign for the Punctuality with which He executed his Orders, and that Vigour, and Dispatch, so conspicuous in all Enterprizes committed to his Charge.

The other Admirals, in the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, were *John*, Lord *Ruffel*, and the Viscount *Lisle*, so well known to Posterity by the Title of Duke of *Northumberland*, as the great Leader of Administration under *Edward*, the Sixth, and as a fatal Example (in

(*k*) Grafton, p. 1268.

(*l*) Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 105.

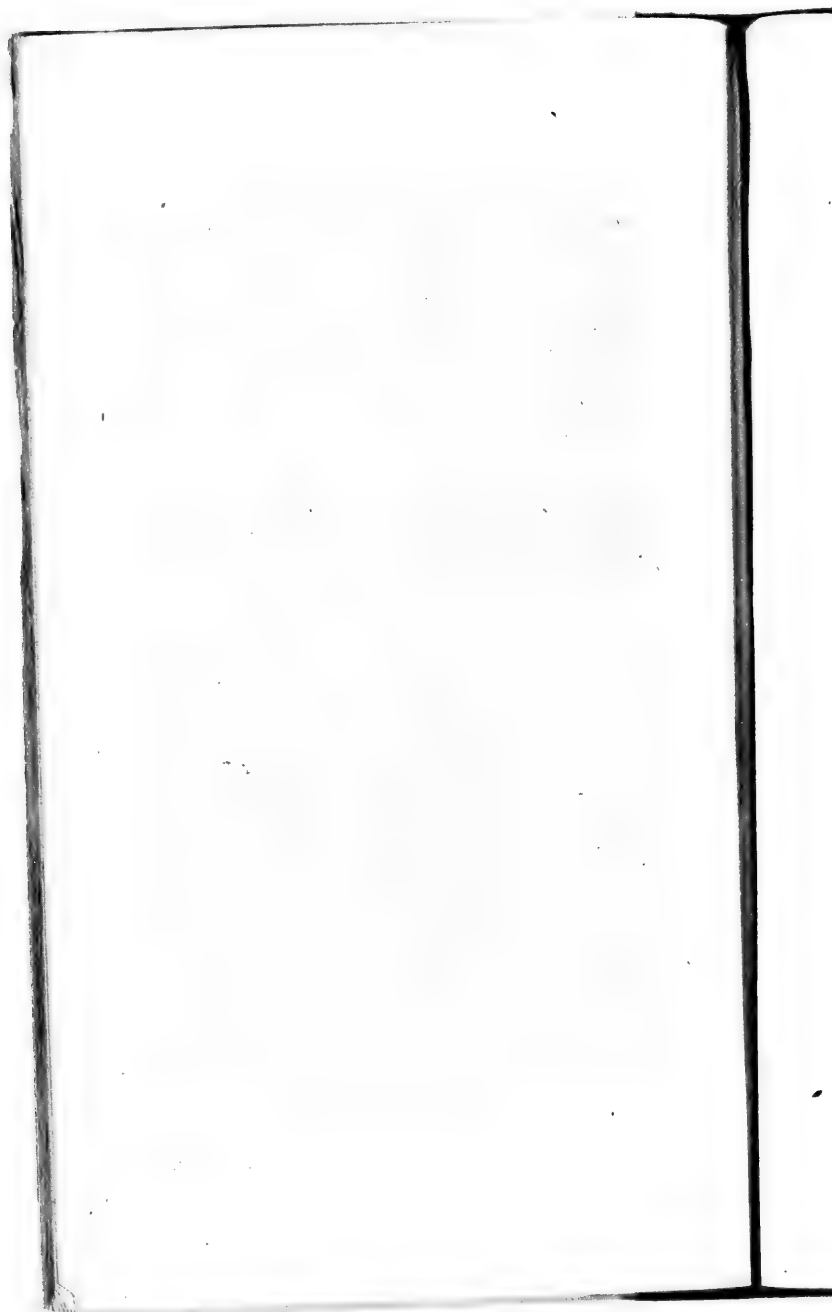
Sir WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS. 23

(in the succeeding Reign,) of the Consequences of unlimited Ambition. The Reader will discover ample Accounts of these Noblemen in other Works (*m*), to which (as their naval Atchievements contain nothing worthy of Notice which hath not been already mentioned,) We take the Liberty of referring Him, that under the Necessity of placing Limits to a great Variety of important Matter, We may avoid dwelling on Circumstances uninteresting either by their Novelty, or their Importance (*n*).

(*m*) Dugdale, Collins, the other Peerages of England, the general Histories, and particular Memoirs under the Reign of Henry, the Eighth, together with Strype's, and other Collections of original Papers, relative to this Æra.

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 379, 380, 381, 382, 383.

MEMOIRS



M E M O I R S

O F

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS
TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of ED-
WARD VI.

AT the Age of nine Years, and three Months,
Edward, the Sixth, who was the only Son of
Henry, the Eighth, succeeded to the Crown of *Eng-
land* (a). His Coronation was solemnized amidst
the joyful acclamations of the People (b), who felt
the most sanguine Hopes that gentler Modes of Go-
vernment would be pursued, under the Auspices of an
infant Prince, assisted by Ministers whose chief, and
almost sole Support must arise from the affectionate
Attachment of the Nation (c). The Plan of Admi-
nistration,

(a) January 31, 1547.

(b) February 20, 1547.

(c) *Fabian*, p. 535.—*Grafton*, p. 1283.—*Stowe*, p. 593.
—*Holingshed*, V. 2. p. 979.—*Speed*.—*Godwin's Annals*,
p. 211.—*Journal of the Reign of Edward*, written by Him-
self, (p. 3.) and printed by Bishop Burnet at the End of the
second

nistraton, as devised in the Will of the late King, was judged impracticable (*d*), and therefore, to remedy the Inconveniences to which so absurd an Allotment of Power must always have been exposed, the Earl of *Hertford*, maternal Uncle to *Edward*, (and created soon afterwards Duke of *Somerset*, Marschal, and Lord Treasurer,) was declared Protector of the Realm. His Advancement was followed by various Promotions, as Manifestations of his Authority. Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Brother to the Protector, was invested with the Dignity of a Peerage, by the Title of Baron *Sudley*, and raised, also, to the important Post of Lord High Admiral of *England* (*e*). At the Dawn of such a Government, when most Regents would have preferred Peace, to War, the Council were of Opinion that Hostilities should be immediately commenced against *Scotland*; a Measure to which They probably were incited, first, by the Information that a strong Squadron of *French* Gallies had passed through the narrow Seas, in Order to block up the Castle of Saint *Andrews* (*f*); and next, by the distracted Posture of Affairs within that Kingdom, a Prey to Factions which gathered Strength under the Weakness of a regal Minority (*g*).

The Preparations made by the Protector for the Expedition into *Scotland* seemed rather to indicate a Design absolutely to conquer that Country, than merely to en-

second Volume of his History of the Reformation.—*Strype's* Memorials, V. 2. p. 12.

(*d*) See the Will at large in *Rymer's Fœdera*, V. 15. p. 110.—Yet its Authenticity hath been questioned.

(*e*) *Grafton*, p. 1283.—*Life of Edward IV.* by Sir John Hayward, in *Kennet*, V. 2. p. 275, et seq.—*Strype*, Vol. II. Book I.

(*f*) *Stowe*, p. 594.—*Thuan. Hist. Lib. 3. Sect. 5.*—*Buchanan*, Lib. 15.

(*g*) *Lectæi de Rebus gestis Scotorum*, Lib. 10.—*Keith's History of the Church, and State of Scotland*, p. 52.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 27

enforce the Marriage of Queen *Mary*, with the young *Edward* (h). The Troops amounting to ten Thousand Foot, and six thousand Cavalry, besides a considerable Train of Artillery, were commanded by the Protector and the Earl of *Warwick* (i). The Fleet, equipped under the Inspection of the Lord High Admiral, and consisting of sixty-five Sail, (amongst which were thirty-five Ships of War, and the Rest, Store-Vessels, and Tenders,) was intrusted to the Lord *Clin-ton*, as Admiral of the *North* Sea, and Sir *William Woodhouse*, as Vice Admiral. They arrived before *Leith*, about the Time when the Army had penetrated into *Scotland* (k).

We learn from an Historian of those Times (l) that during these Preparations, the *Scots*, and *English* were frequently engaged in Hostilities, which seemed to be a Prefage to the succeeding War. He informs us that "a small Vessel belonging to the Navy of *Edward*, and called the *Penfy*, was attacked, when cruizing on the Seas, by the *Lion*, a principal Ship of *Scotland*. The Battle began afar off, and was deliberately pursued; but when the contending Parties approached, it grew extremely furious; and the *Penfy* so well applied her Shot, that therewith the *Lion's* Deck was broken, her Sails, and Tacklings torn, and lastly, She was boarded, and taken." This Ship was unfortunately cast away, on the Passage to *England*, and near to *Harwich*, in Sight of which Place, most of the Crew perished.

The Protector, anxious to spare the Effusion of human Blood, dispatched a Messenger to the Leaders of the *Scotch* Administration, with friendly Letters, in which

(h) Grafton, p. 1284.—Godwin's Annals, p. 214.

(i) Holingshed, V. 2. p. 980.—Speed, p. 804.

(k) Hayward,—Buchanan, Lib. 15.—Keith, p. 53.

(l) Hayward.

which He earnestly remarked how greatly the Interests of both Nations would be advanced by the Accomplishment of the Marriage ; and what detriment might ensue were *Scotland* to remain any longer dependant on the Court of *France*. To this last Power, *Hamilton*, Earl of *Arran*, the Regent of *Scotland*, was zealously attached, and therefore resolved not to disclose the Contents of the Letter to any but his own Creatures, who, perceiving his Inclinations, advised Him to object to all Conditions of Peace, and (since He had assembled a formidable Army, together with the Flower of the Nobility in the Field,) to force the *English* to a Battle. To these evil Counsellors, He absurdly listened ; and with a Meanness, equal to the Extravagance of his Conduct, informed the Lords, and great military Officers who attended Him at the Camp, that the Letter from the Protector was filled only with Menaces, and Reproaches (*m*).

The Result of these impolitic Proceedings was a decisive Engagement, on the tenth of September, in the Year one Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-seven. The *English* Historians have called it the Battle of *Musfelburgh* (*n*) ; The *Scots*, the Battle of *Pinky* (*o*). The Forces under the Protector gained a complete Victory, notwithstanding their Inferiority, in Point of Numbers, to the Army of the Enemy, which amounted to more than thirty thousand Men ; but the *Scots* were so impatient for the Attack, that they despised all the Precautions generally taken, either with Regard to Ground, or other Circumstances. They were even so foolhardy

(*m*) Holingshed, V. 2. p. 890.—Speed, p. 804.—Keith, p. 55.—Cambell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 388.

(*n*) Grafton, p. 1286.—Stowe, p. 594.—Cooper, Fol.

338. b.—King Edward's Journal, p. 5.

(*o*) Buchanan, Lib. 15.—Lesley.—Keith, p. 54, &c.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 29

hardy as to expose themselves to the Fire of the *English* Fleet, by which, together with that of the Troops, They were extremely galled, and so totally overcome that fourteen thousand were left dead upon the Spot, and eight hundred Noblemen and Gentleman made Prisoners. Immediately after the Victory, the Protector dispatched a Body of Troops to set Fire to *Leith*, and then returned, in Triumph, to *England* (p).

The Lord *Clinton*, with his Fleet, continued longer in those Parts, that He might entirely extirpate the naval Force of *Scotland*. He had been employed for the same Purpose in the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, and had executed his Commission with much Conduct, and Intrepidity, carrying off the *Salamander*, and the *Unicorn*, (two of the largest, and finest Ships on the marine Establishment of that Kingdom,) together with all other Vessels worth seizing (q). He, now, accomplished this Plan of Destruction, burning all the Sea-Ports, and the small-Craft within the Harbours, and so diligently searching every Creek, and all the Mouths of Rivers, that (if the Historians may be credited,) He did not leave one single Ship of Force, or Burthen, in the Possession of the *Scots* (r). Towards their Coasts, the Lord High Admiral sailed with a formidable Fleet, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-eight, to obstruct the Repair of their Harbours, and infest Them, by every Method in his Power. His Operations were less successful. At *Brent* Island, He indeed, set Fire to four Ships; but, at the Attempt upon *Saint Minoe*, He was repulsed by the Lord *Dun*, with considerable Loss, notwithstanding the great Superiority

(p) Holingshed, V. 2. p. 900.—Speed, p. 805.—Hayward.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 338.

(q) Stowe's Annals, p. 586, 587.

(r) Holingshed, V. 2. p. 995.—Lesley, L. 10.—Buchanan, L. 15.

periority of his naval Force (*s*). The severe Hardships under which the People laboured had rendered them desperate; and in Spite of the enormous Disbursements on the Part of *England*, and the compleat Victory gained by the Protector, *Edward*, and his Council felt Themselves, at the Expiration of two Years, reduced to the Necessity of concluding a Peace; a Measure to which They were impelled by the Consideration that *Mary* had escaped into *France*, and that powerful Succours were dispatched from thence to *Scotland*. The two nations had suffered exceedingly by the War, which, however, proved of much Advantage to the *French*, who, on this Occasion, are observed to have availed Themselves of both Powers, without performing their Agreements with either (*t*).

It may not, in this Place, be improper to acquaint the Reader that when it was determined by the *Scots* to send *Mary* into *France*, *Villegaignon*, Commander of four Gallies, lying in the *Firth* of *Forth*, set sail as if He had designed to return Homewards. When He had reached the open Sea, He changed his Course Northwards, passed by the *Orkneys*, and came in on the Western Coasts of *Dunbarton*: an extraordinary Voyage for Vessels of that Construction (*u*). Here, the young Queen was intrusted to his Protection, and attended by the Lords *Areskine*, and *Livingstone*, proceeded on her Passage, and after having been exposed to a violent Tempest, arrived in Safety at *Brest*, from whence She was escorted to *Paris*, and betrothed to the *Dauphin*.

The

(*s*) Hayward.—Godwin.—Keith.

(*t*) Grafton, p. 1310, 1314.—Godwin, p. 220, 240.—Thuan, Lib. 5. Sect. 15.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 389.

(*u*) Thuanus, L. 5. C. 15.—Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 312.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 31

The unnatural Quarrel between the Protector, and his Brother, the Lord High Admiral, was the chief Cause of that national Misfortune. During their violent, and disgraceful Struggles to destroy each other, the Administration of public Affairs became totally neglected. They who might have prevented these Disorders, endeavoured, from the same Principle of selfish Ambition, to increase them; and were unremitting in their Contrivances for the mutual Ruin of such formidable Rivals (x). Of this Conduct, innumerable Examples occur in the Collections of State Papers (y). No Persons, of what Quality soever, seem to have been exempted from the Perplexities attending this unhappy Business. Even the King submitted to be examined; and his Confession, (as it is styled,) with that of the Princess *Elizabeth*, the Marquisses of *Dorset*, and *Northampton*, Sir *Robert Tyrwhyt*, and his Lady, the Earl of *Rutland*, and many Others of the first Distinction, have been printed from the Originals (z). The Marriage of the Lord High Admiral with the Queen-Dowager, and the Disgust which it gave to the Protector, or rather to the Duchess, his Consort, appears to have been the first Cause of these Disputes. To this Opinion, the Reader will, probably, incline, when He hath perused two Letters from that Princess to her Lord, (both without a Date,) and the Confession of *Wyghtman*, his Domestic (a), (b).

What the Crimes of the Admiral really were, our Historians have not been able to determine. We only know that He was chiefly charged with a Design of seiz-

(x) Hayward, p. 301.—Godwin, p. 226.

(y) Published by Dr. Haynes.

(z) Ibid.

(a) Ibid. p. 61, 62, 68, 69.—King Edward's Journal, p. 4.

(b) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 390.

seizing the King's Person, of marrying the Princess *Elizabeth*, and of forming, in Consequence of this Union, his Pretensions to the Crown. On this Accusation, whether well, or ill-founded, He was attainted (without a trial,) by A&P of Parliament (c): a Proceeding altogether inexcusable, as depriving the People, and their Posterity, of the Opportunity of examining the Evidence on which public Justice is said to have been founded. The Protector enforced the Sentence of this Law by signing, in Conjunction with the other Lords of the Council, the Warrant for the Execution of the Admiral, notwithstanding that He was his own Brother, and Uncle to the King (d): an opprobrious, and sanguinary Measure, which hath been imputed to his Desire of gratifying the Wishes of his Consort (e), (f).

It appears that the Lord Protector *Somerſet* was endued with Integrity, but weak, and irresolute, relinquishing too frequently his own superior Judgment, and yielding to the Advice of Others. The Admiral possessed great Abilities, inflexible Resolution, and a more extensive Knowledge of the Arts of Government; but his turbulent Disposition gave the common Enemies to his Family, and the Quiet of the Nation, an Opportunity of detaching Him from his Brother's Interest, and thereby creating those Misfortunes which were alike

(c) Grafton, p. 1291.—Stowe, p. 596.—The Charge containing thirty-three Articles, with the Reply of the Lord Admiral to the three first (for He would neither answer to more nor sign those,) are printed in the Collection of Records in the second Volume of the History of the Reformation, by Bishop Burnet, p. 158, 196.

(d) March 20, 1549.

(e) Hayward, p. 301, 302.—Cooper's Chronicle, Folio 344.—See the Warrant in Burnet, p. 164.

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 390.

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like fatal to Himself, the Protector, and the Kingdom (g). A naval Writer observes (h), that the Events of this short Reign afford the most useful Lessons to Ministers, who must perceive, at the first Glance, that all the chief Directors of Government, in that Era, were led away by private Views, to which They sacrificed the Welfare of the Sovereign, and his People. It was on this Account that the Member of a Faction, not from a Regard to Justice, but for the same detestable Intentions, brought his Opponent to that Punishment, which by his Guilt, He justly merited; and thus, All gradually became the Victims of the national Resentment; yet their Successors were not warned by their Example, but trod in the same dangerous, and disgraceful Path, until a Similarity of Conduct brought Them also to similar Ends.

The *French*, who were now governed by *Henry*, the Second, a young, and enterprising Prince, embraced the Opportunity, whilst the *English* were engaged in a *Scotch War*, and divided by civil dissensions, to deprive Them of the few, but important Places which They still held in *France*. To give a Colour to their Proceeding, They pretended that *Boulogne* had not been yielded to *Henry*, the Eighth, absolutely, but conditionally, and by Way of Mortgage for a certain Sum of Money, which (as They declared,) had been tendered to Him, more than once, by their late King, *Francis*, the First; and consequently, that They possessed an Equity of Redemption which, in their Opinion, might justify any Measures that should appear necessary for facilitating the Acquisition of the Place. The

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French

(g) Stowe.—Holingshed.—Speed.—Godwin's Annals, p. 225, 229.—Burnet's History of the Reformation, V. 2. p. 99, 100.

(h) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 391.

French King under the Pretence of adding to the Magnificence of his public Entry into *Paris*, and the Coronation of the Queen, drew a considerable Body of the Forces towards the Neighbourhood of that City, and into *Picardy*; then departing suddenly from his Capital, He came to *Abbeville*, where the Troops rendezvoused, and marched from thence, with all Expedition to *Boulogne*, where he attacked, and carried some of the Forts, distressing the Place so much that it was found impracticable to keep it (*i*). Our Historians observe that these Forts were lost by Treachery; and it appears from Representations made in the Name of *Edward*, to the Emperor, that the Whole of this Transaction was contrary to the Law of Nations, no War having, at that Period, been declared against *England* (*k*).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-nine, the *French* Fleet, and Gallies under the Command of their Admiral *Strozzi*, who was attended by two thousand Land Troops, resolved upon an Attempt to reduce the Islands of *Jersey*, and *Guernsey*, which were the Whole of what the *English* had then left of the Duchy of *Normandy*. The Protector, and his Council, having notice of this intended Enterprize, and being sensible that those Places were in a feeble Posture of Defence, sent thither a small Squadron, which was intrusted to Commodore *Winter*, who was afterwards reinforced with eight hundred Men, on board a small Number of Transports. At his Arrival, He found the Ports blocked up, and Himself under a Necessity

(*i*) J. de Serres, p. 701.—Mezeray, Tom. IV. p. 657.—Histoire de France, par P. Daniel, Tom. VIII. p. 20.

(*k*) Journal of Edward the Sixth, p. 6.—Grafton, p. 1310.—Stowe, p. 597.—Instructions sent to Sir Philip Hoby, by the Duke of Somerset.—Strype's Memorials, V. 2. p. 164.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 35

Necessity either of desisting from his Enterprize, or of attacking the *French*, notwithstanding their great Superiority. He bravely chose the Latter, and so well executed his Design, that having killed nearly a thousand Men, He obliged the Enemy to embark the Rest on board some light Vessels, in which They fled; abandoning their Ships of Force, all of which, in Pursuance of Orders from the Commodore, were set on Fire. The *French* were so afflicted at this Defeat that (as our Historians remark,) They forbid all Subjects of that Kingdom from speaking of its Particulars under Pain of Death. We may imagine that this Report was justly founded, since no Traces of the Event are to be met with in any of their own Writers (1).

Amongst the Transactions of this Year, We find the following Note, in the Diary of *Edward*, the Sixth: "The *Frenchmen*, by Night, assaulted *Boulingberg*, and were manfully repulsed: After, They had made Faggots with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Rosin, Powder, and Wild-Fire, to burn the Ships in the Haven of *Boulogne*; But they were driven away by the *Boulonnais*, and their Faggots taken. Nevertheless, the *French* came another Time, and planted their Ordnance towards the Sea-Side of *Boulogne*, on the Sand-Hills, and beat (m) divers Ships of Victuallers, at the Entry of the Haven: But yet the *Englishmen*, at the King's Adventure came into the Haven, and refreshed, divers Times, the Town."

The ill Success of the *English*, who lost the Forts about *Boulogne*, proved serviceable to the Designs of the

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(1) Holingshed, V. 2. p. 1055.—Godwin's Annals, p. 233.—Speed, p. 811.—Fox's Acts, and Monuments, V. 2. p. 671.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 302.
(m) Probably, —battered.

Enemies of the Duke of *Somerſet*, againſt whom a heavy Charge was lodged, in Conſequence of which He was committed to the Tower, and diveſted of the Proteſtorſhip. Soon afterwards, a Treaty was concluded with *France*, when the Town of *Boulogne*, and its Dependencies were ſold to that Nation, for the Sum of four hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold, in that *Æra* of equal Value with an *Engliſh* Noble, and taken Poſſeſſion of, in the Spring of the Year, one Thouſand, five Hundred, and Fifty (*n*). In this Treaty, the *Scots* were included. Rewards were adjudged to Thoſe who had been instrumental in its Completion. *Edward*, Lord *Clinton*, the late Governor of the Territory now yielded to *France*, was appointed Lord High Admiral, for Life, and preſented by his Sovereign with extenſive Tracts of Land. Penſions were alſo ſettled on *Antonio Guidotti*, an *Italian* Merchant, reſiding at *Southampton*, and *John Guidotti*, his Son. The Latter enjoyed a Salary, from the royal Bounty, of two hundred, and fifty Crowns. The Former, excluſive of a Gift amounting to a thouſand Crowns, received annually the ſame Sum. *Edward* likewiſe advanced Him to the Honour of Knighthood; and, in about a Year afterwards, appointed Him his Merchant, with full Liſenſe to export woollen Cloth, Kerſies, Lead, and Tin, under certain Reſtrictions; and to import Velvet, Cloth of Gold, Wine, and oil; paying only the ſame Duties exacted from the Merchants of *England* (*o*).

A naval Writer (*p*) remarks, that it is not to be wondered at that a Treaty ſo far from being honourable to

(*n*) F. Leonard, Tom. II. p. 472.—*Rymer's Fœdera*, V. 15. p. 211.—*Thuan. Hiſt. Lib. 6. Sect. 6.*

(*o*) Grafton, p. 1314.—*Strype's Memorials*, V. 2. p. 194, 230.—*Leſſæus, Lib. 10. p. 506.*—*Hayward.*—*Rymer's Fœdera*, V. 15. p. 227, 228.

(*p*) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 394.

to the Nation was very ill received at home; and yet it must be acknowledged that it was by no means so inexcusable as some Historians represent it. We have already shewn with what Injustice the *French* made War upon King *Edward*; and it is but reasonable to add that when his Ambassador applied to the Emperor for Assistance, and expatiated on the Advantages for which the House of *Austria* had been indebted to *Henry*, the Eighth, the Pains taken by that Prince to solicit the Electors to place the Imperial Crown on the Head of *Charles*, the Fifth, and the Poverty to which the *English* had been reduced by Wars carried on against *France*, purely to support his Cause, The Emperor returned an equally disgusting, and ungrateful Answer. He took Notice of the Alterations which had been made in Religion, and pretended that for this Reason, He could not yield Them the desired Aid; insisting, at the same Time that, as the Price of his Friendship, all Things should be restored to their former State. Soon afterwards, when Matters had been carried to an Extremity, it was proposed, on the Part of *Edward*, that the Emperor should take the Town of *Boulogne* into his Hands, to remain as a Deposit, until the King should be of Age; but this, likewise, was rejected under all Conditions, except the Restoration of the old Religion (9). We may, from hence, perceive the Integrity of those Ministers who, rather than endanger Protestantism, chose to sacrifice their Influence with the Nation; and, also, learn, how little the Friendship of foreign, and of papal Powers, is to be depended upon when the Interests of *England* are alone at Stake.

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(9) Hayward's Life of Edward the Sixth, in Kennet, V. 2. p. 310, 311.—Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, V. 2. p. 131, 139, 140.—Strype's Memorials, V. 2. B. 1. C. 23.

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1. p. 394.

As it relates to naval Events, We think it necessary to present the Reader, with an Extract from the Diary of *Edward*, the Sixth, under the Years, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-One, and one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-two.

" July, the first: Whereas certain *Flemish* Ships, twelve Sail in all, and six tall Men of War, looking for eighteen more Men of War, went to *Dieppe*, as it was thought, to take *Monsieur le Marechal (de Saint André)* by the Way, Order was given that six Ships, being before prepared, with four Pinnaces, and a Brigantine, should go both to condu& Him, and, also, to defend, if any Thing should be attempted against *England*, by carrying over the *Lady Mary*."

" A Brigantine sent to *Dieppe*, to give Knowledge to *Monsieur la Marechal* of the *Flemings* coming, to whom all the *Flemings* veiled their Bonnet (r). Also, the *French* Ambassador was advertized, who answered that He thought Himself sure enough when He came into the Streams, terming it so."

" The *Frenchmen* landed at *Rye*, as Some thought, for Fear of the *Flemings*, lying at the Land's End, chiefly because They saw our Ships were let (s) by the Wind that They could not come out."

" The nine, and twentieth of August, certain Pinnaces were prepared to see that there should be no Conveyance over Sea, of the *Lady Mary*, secretly done."

" September the third, the *French* Ambassador came to declare—that the Emperor stayed certain Ships of the *French*, going a fishing to the *Newfoundland*. Furthermore, He sent a dozen Ships, which bragged They would take the Dowager of *Scotland*, which Thing stayed Her so long at *Dieppe*. Whereupon his Master had

(r) Lowered their Top-Sails.

(s) Hindered : Wind-bound.

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had taken the whole Fleet of *Antwerp*, conveying it to his Country, into his Ports, by ten Ships He had sent forth, under Baron *de la Garde*."

"February, the twenty-ninth, a *Fleming* would have searched the *Falcon*, for *Frenchmen*: But the *Falcon* boarded the *Fleming*, and took Her (t)."

"March the First, Order was given, for the Defence of the Merchants, to send four Barks, and two Pinnaces to Sea."

After the Conclusion of the Peace, a closer, and more considerable Intercourse arose between the *French*, and *English* Courts, at which the Emperor was so offended that He permitted his *Flemish* Subjects to cruize in the *English* Ocean: a Circumstance which afforded the *French* a Pretence for acting in the same Manner; but, upon Complaint that the Navigation of the narrow Seas was exceeding disturbed, the King commanded the Lord *Henry Dudley*, to sail with four Men of War, in Order to protect the Merchants. On this Expedition, He met with small success, taking only two Pirate Ships, which He brought to *Dover* (u). In the preceding Year, a Fleet had been equipped to escort the Marquis of *Northampton*, (accompanied by the Earls of *Rutland*, *Worcester*, and *Ormond*; the Lords *Lisle*, *Bray*, *Abergavenny*, and many Persons of Distinction) who carried with Him the Collar, and other Habillments of the Order of the Garter, with which, in the Quality of Ambassador from the Court of *England*, He invested *Henry*, the Second, King of *France*; and, afterwards, concluded, a Treaty for the Marriage of *Edward*, with the Princess *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Henry*,

D 4 who,

(t) 1552.

(u) Diary of Edward the Sixth, March 26, 1552.—
Hayward, in Kennet.—*Strype's Memorials*, Vol. II. B. 2.
C. 10.

who, in the Month of July following, dispatched the *Mareschal* of *Saint André*, with a magnificent Retinue, to present the Ensigns of the Order of *Saint Michael* to the King of *England*; and, also, to treat of various Affairs, in each of which Negotiations, a late Historian (x) esteems it highly probable that the *French* were not absolutely sincere.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three, the *French* renewed their piratical Depredations; and, under various Pretences seized on several of the *English* Ships. The Merchants, who, in Consequence of these Outrages, had lost, within the Space of twenty Months, the Sum of fifty thousand Pounds, made their Complaints to *Edward*, who directed his Ambassador at the Court of *France* to remonstrate against these Hostilities, and demand a proper Satisfaction. His Application was not attended with Success, and few Measures were resorted to by *Henry*, to avoid a Rupture with the *English* (y).

In the foregoing Year, the King had been attacked, by the Measles, and, afterwards, by the small Pox. From these Disorders, He had perfectly recovered; when, on making a Progress throughout a Part of his Dominions, He was supposed to have over-heated Himself by Exercise, and fell ill of a Cough, to the Cure of which all Regimen, and Medicines were unequal. His Physicians soon discovered in Him the Symptoms of a violent Consumption; and neither his Youth, nor Temperance proved sufficient to slacken its Advances. The People, alike warmly attached to their Sovereign, and disgusted at the Conduct of the *Dudleys*, remarked that the Health of *Edward* had rapidly

(x) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 395.

(y) Diary of Edward the Sixth, p. 62, 63, 64, 65, 66. —Strype, V. 2. p. 332.—Hayward.

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pidly declined from the Time that the Lord *Robert*, of that Family had been placed near Him, in the Post of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. Certain it is, that the Faculty were dismissed from Him, by the Advice of *Northumberland*, and by an Order of the Council ; after which, He was intrusted to the Care of a foolish Woman, who boasted that She would speedily restore Him to his wonted Health and Vigour. Her Applications increased every bad Symptom to an alarming Degree. He felt a difficulty of Speech, and Breathing ; his Pulse failed ; his Legs swelled ; and his Colour became livid. Whether these Symptoms were occasioned by Poison, or resulted from a Consumption, is difficult to be determined. Some Authors, from a Comparison of Circumstances, have inclined to the first Opinion (a) : whilst Others have embraced the Last (a). He expired at *Greenwich*, on the sixth of July, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three ; and in the sixteenth Year of his Age, and the seventh of his Reign (b).

The personal Character of this Prince was amiable in all Respects, yet (as He was ruled by his Ministers,) of little Importance to his Subjects. The Forms of Government were preserved ; Parliaments were called, and sate ; Nothing was heard, but the highest Pretensions to

(a) See an Extract from a Journal, kept by a Person in those Times—*Strype*, V. 2. p. 429.—*Hayward*, p. 326, 327.—*Burnet*, p. 221.—*Heylin's History of the Reformation*, p. 138, 139.

(a) *Grafton*, p. 1324.—*Holingshed*, V. 2. p. 1083.—*Godwin*, p. 253.—*Cooper*, (Fol. 358.) contemporary Writer, who, notwithstanding, observes that many Persons were punished for having reported that *Edward* was poisoned, and that such a Rumour had spread throughout the Kingdom.

(b) *Hume's History of England*, V. 4. p. 362, 364, 365.

to Purity in Religion, and Zeal for the public Good; whilst the individuals who made Them shewed no considerable Regard for either, by their Actions, which are the surest Tests of Principles. Under Colour of Reformation, several useful Charities were given to the Crown, as if They had been superstitious Foundations, in Order that They might be made over to those very Men who, for interested Purposes, had branded Them with so offensive an Appellation. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* struggled, but in vain, to prevent these Enormities. His virtuous Measures were circumvented by the selfish Designs of Others, who enjoyed the Benefit, whilst the Scandal alighted on the King. All Bishops had not the Sanctity, or the Sincerity of *Cranmer*. The Majority of the Prelates accepted of rich Sees, in Order to grant away their Revenues. During the Whole of this Time, the Commons were grievously taxed; and the Exchequer, like a Sieve, received all, but retained nothing. Errors in Administration at Home produced Misfortunes abroad: These created Expences, and, what is worse, unavailing Expences, so that by an authentic Account preserved amongst the *Cecil* Papers, it appeared that from the thirtieth of the last, to the Close of this Reign, (a Period of scarcely fifteen Years,) there had been spent in foreign Wars, and about foreign Concerns, upwards of three Millions Sterling. The great Prize which We obtained was *Boulogne*, which was afterwards restored for four hundred thousand Crowns; and *Edward*, not even indulged with the Trifles necessary at his Age, died in Debt (c).

The great Power, and immense Fortunes, for the Security of which the aspiring Courtiers sacrificed the pub-

(c) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 397.

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public Welfare were (as is usual with such Acquisitions,) of no considerable Duration. The *Seymours* destroyed each other. They who assisted the Protector to remove the Admiral, availed Themselves of the Weakness occasioned by these Struggles to depress, first, and next, utterly ruin the Former, under the specious Pretence of a Concern for the Commonwealth, to which they were, in fact, less warmly attached than the Object of their Persecution. The two powerful Dukes, of *Suffolk*, and of *Northumberland*, who rose upon his Fall, as They built on the same sandy Foundation of mere human Policy, were involved in the same unfortunate Ends, upon a Scaffold. The Practices which they employed for aggrandizing, proved the Ruin of their Families, even in their own Times, and They had the Mortification to observe at the Approach of Their last Moments, the total Subversion of their ambitious Schemes. So dangerous, and so destructive is it for the Grandees, in any Nation, to abuse their elevated Rank, and to employ that Power with which They are entrusted for the common Good, to serve their private Views, at the Expence of a great People, who, with some Justice, although with too indecent a Violence, testify a Pleasure in their Misfortunes; and behold with Satisfaction, the Desolation of those Houses (how noble, or ancient soever,) that were cemented with Blood, and founded on Oppression. If They, whom their great Abilities, the Favour of their Prince, or the Confidence of the People, lift into high Places, would read the History of their own Countries, and reflect seriously on the melancholy Catastrophes of those Statesmen who, by an Abuse of their Talents, a Presumption on their Power, or a Desertion from that Patriotism which contributed to their Advancement, have fallen headlong from the Pinnacle of their Preferment,

with-

without being even pitied, during their miserable Dejections, it would infallibly keep Them in the safe Path, and exempt Them from sharing the like Fate (*d*).

But, even in this Reign, We find some transient Gleams of Sunshine. In Matters less dependent upon Factions, and more especially, in such as came before the King in Council, and were of a Nature fit for Him to examine, or to be explained to Him, a different, and a better Conduct was pursued. This may, in some Measure, be attributed to the Artifices of those refined Politicians who surrounded *Edward*, towards the Close of his Reign: For, if in Matters discussed within his Hearing, all Points should be thoroughly canvassed, and the right Judgment given, a young Prince would scarcely suspect that, in other Cases, even before the same Men, different, and, perhaps, opposite Notions were adopted. It is well known that the best Minds are the most easily deceived. But, let us return to the History, and conclude it with Prospects at least more pleasing than those which have arisen from these necessary Reflections (*e*).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-eight, the Parliament passed an Act which granted free Licence to all Persons, to trade, and fish on the Coasts of *Newfoundland*, and other Places, without the Payment of any Fee, or Reward, whatsoever (*f*). An old Historian (*g*) hath remarked that it appears from this Edict that the Trade out of *England* to *Newfoundland*, was common, and frequented about the Reign of *Edward*, the Sixth. He also expresses his Surprise that

(*d*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 398.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 399.

(*f*) Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 131.

(*g*) Ibid.

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that it should be so little known towards the latter End of the sixteenth Century.

In the same Year, when the Merchants at *Antwerp* complained of the Hardships, and Indignities to which They were exposed, the Ambassadors of *Edward* judged it necessary to interfere; and when the Regency of that City suggested to Them that it was strange that the King of *England* should more respect a Company of Merchants than the friendship of a great Emperor, *Smith*, the Agent of *Edward*, boldly replied that his Sovereign, rather than not support the Commerce of his Subjects, would run the Risque of losing the Friendship of any Power upon Earth (*h*).

A very distinct, and particular Account of the Advantages derived to the City of *Antwerp* from the Residence of the *English* Merchants, appeared in a scarce Tract addressed to Sir *Robert Cecil*, at that *Æra* Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, and afterwards Earl of *Salisbury*, and Lord High Treasurer of *England*. For the Amusement, and Instruction of the Reader, who, probably, may not have seen it, as much as relates to our Subject is here inserted.

Philip, surnamed the Good, Duke of *Burgundy*, and *Brabant*, gave Privileges to the *English* Nation in the *Low Countries*, which happened in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Forty-six; which Privileges the Town of *Antwerp* confirmed on the sixth of August in the same Year; giving to them, besides a large House which is now called the old *Burse*; and afterwards, by Exchange, another more goodly, spacious, and sumptuous House, called the *Court of Lier*; which the Company enjoyed, until the said Town was yielded to the Duke of *Parma*, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty-five."

" At
(*h*) *Strype's Memorials*, V. 2. p. 108, 109.

“ At the abovesaid first Concordate, and Conclusion of Privileges with the Town of *Antwerp*, or not long before, there were not in all the Town above four Merchants, and Those, also, no Adventurers to the Sea : The rest of the Inhabitants, or Towsmen, were but mean People, and neither able, nor skilful to use the Feat, or Trade of Merchandize, but did let out the best of their Houses to *Englishmen*, and other Strangers, for Chambers, and Pack-Houses, contenting Themselves with some Corner for their Profit's Sake : But, within these late Years, the Concourse, and Resort of foreign Merchants to that Town was so great, that House-room waxed scant, Rents were raised, Tolls, Excises, and all other Duties to the Prince, and Town, wonderfully increased, and the *Antwerp*-Men themselves, who, in a few Years before, were but mean Artificers, or lived by Husbandry, and keeping of Cattle, whereof one Gate of that City, to this Day, beareth the Name, and had but six Ships belonging to their Town, and those for the River only, that never went to Sea, began to grow exceeding rich, so that Some fell to the Trade of Merchandize, and Others employed their Substance on Building.”

“ Then their old rotten Houses, covered with Thatch were pulled down ; their waste Ground, whereof there was Store within the Town, was turned into goodly Buildings, and fair Streets ; and their Shipping increased accordingly. Thus prospered not only Those of *Antwerp*, but all other Towns, and Places thereabouts : so that in our Memory, that now live, the said Town was grown to such Wealth, Strength, and Beauty, as never was known the like in so short a Time ; and no Marvel ; for, within the Compass of fifty Years, an House, that was worth but forty Dollars a Year, grew to be worth three hundred Dollars a Year ; and a House

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 47

House that was let out for sixty Dollars, came afterwards to be let for four hundred Dollars; Yea, some Houses in *Antwerp* were let for six hundred; Some for eight hundred Dollars a Year, besides their Havens for Ships to come, and lade, and discharge within the Town. Their public, stately Buildings, and Edifices, erected partly for Ornament, and partly for the Ease, and Accommodation of the Merchants, were so costly, and sumptuous, as He that hath not seen, and marked Them well would not believe."

It is impossible to advance a stronger Proof than this of the incontestible Right of *Edward* to insist that all his Subjects should uninterruptedly enjoy their Privileges in that City, where their Residence was, a Point of such Importance (i). In this View, it seems to have been considered by the Emperor, *Charles*, the Fifth, who notwithstanding that, in the Year, one Thousand five Hundred, and Fifty, He refused to listen to the Supplications of the Citizens of *Antwerp*, and the Intercessions of several great Princes, remaining fixed in his Resolution of establishing an Inquisition within that City; yet upon the bare Suggestion that such a Measure would infallibly drive the *English*, not only from *Antwerp*, but out of the *Low Countries*, He, with great Prudence, immediately desisted from his Project (k).

The Freedom and Felicity of Commerce must have been severely affected by an unpopular Tax, which the Parliament imposed, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-nine, on the whole Stock, mortgaged Interest, and even the Industry of the Nation. It exacted annually a Shilling in the Pound, during three Years,

(i) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 401.

(k) Burnet's History of the Reformation, V. 2. p. 161.—Grimston's History of the Netherlands, p. 286, 287.

Years, from every Person worth ten Pounds, or upwards. Aliens, and Denizens, were double taxed. They were assessed Eight Pence, annually, if above twelve Years old, and worth less than twenty Shillings. Every Wether was to pay two Pence, and every Ewe, three Pence, annually. The woollen Manufactures were to pay eight Pence a Pound on the Value of all the Cloth which they fabricated. A great Historian judiciously observes that these exorbitant Taxes on Money are a Proof that few People lived on Money lent at Interest (l): For this Tax amounts to half of the yearly Income of all Money-Holders, during three Years, estimating their Interest at the Rate allowed by Law; and was too grievous to be borne, if many Persons had been affected by it. It appears singular that no Land-Tax was raised during this Session. The Profits of Merchandize were commonly so high, that it was supposed it could bear this Imposition. The Tax on the Woollen Manufactures was by far the most ill-judged, and absurd Part of the Law (m). The subsequent Parliament repealed the Tax on Sheep, and woollen Cloth (n). But They continued the other Tax, a Year longer (o).

Still it must be confessed that Commerce, and the Arts of Manufacture, although considerably improved, and augmented, were less advanced in *England*, than amidst the other Nations of *Europe*. The Distresses of the lower Ranks of Society are equally a Check to Trade, and a Diminution of the Support of naval Armaments. Inconveniencies of this Kind had followed the

(l) Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. Note Q. p. 462.

(m) 2. and 3 Ed. VI. Cap. 36.

(n) 3 and 4 Ed. VI. Cap. 23.

(o) Ibid.

the Suppression of religious Houses; a Measure which, although salutary in a Multitude of Respects, was severely felt by the common People, at the Close of the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, and during that of *Edward*, the Sixth. The *Monks*, who constantly inhabited their Convents, within the Centre of their Estates, are justly observed (p) to have spent their Money, in the Provinces, and amongst their Tenants, affording a ready Market for Commodities, and proving a sure Resource to the Poor, and Indigent. That their Hospitality, and Charity gave but too much Encouragement to Idleness, and prevented the Increase of public Riches, is a Fact which cannot be denied; yet to the Exertion of these Virtues, Numbers were indebted for a Relief from the Severities of Want. The *Friars*, who, by the Rules of their Institution, were confined to particular Modes of Living, were less tempted than Others to commit Extortion, and their Conduct (at this present Æra, peculiar to most of the Clergy in the *Roman Catholic Countries*.) occasioned Them to be considered as indulgent Landlords. The Abbots, and Priors were permitted to grant Leases at an under Value, and to receive, in Return, a large Present from the Tenant. But when the Church-Lands were distributed amongst the Nobility, and Courtiers, this Custom was abolished: The Rents of Farms were raised, whilst the Tenants were deprived of their former Opportunities of disposing of the Produce; The Money was expended in the Capital; and the Farmers, living at a Distance were exposed to Oppression from their new Masters, or to the still greater Rapacity of the Stewards (q).

The Demand for Wool, not only within the Kingdom, but at the foreign Markets was considerably increased.

(p) Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 326.

(q) Ibid.

creased. Pasturage, as being more profitable was preferred to Tillage, and whole Estates were laid waste by Inclosures. The Tenants were driven, as useless Incumbrances, from their Abodes; and the Cottagers, deprived of Common, on which their Cattle had formerly been permitted to graze, were reduced to Misery, A Diminution of the Populousness of the Country, and of that Plenty which it once afforded, was, every where, too fatally discernible (r). There is Reason to suppose that such Calamities had, at this Period, become habitual; and a learned Writer (s) hath remarked that, in *England*, a Sheep was grown a more ravenous Animal, than a Lion, or a Wolf, and devoured whole Villages, Cities, and Provinces (t).

We must confess, with a discerning Investigator (u) that the general Increase of Gold, and Silver, in *Europe*, after the Discovery of the *West-Indies*, had a Tendency to inflame these Complaints. He observes that the growing Demand in the more commercial Countries, had heightened, every where, the Price of Commodities, which could easily be transported thither; but in *England*, the Labour of Men, who could not so easily change their Habitation, still remained nearly at the ancient Rates; and the Poor complained that They could no longer gain a Subsistence by their Industry. It was alone by an Addition of Toil, and Application that They were enabled to procure a Maintenance; and although this Increase of Industry was, at last, the Effect of the present Situation, and an Effect beneficial to Society, yet was it difficult for the People to shake off their former Habits of Indolence; and Nothing

(r) Strype, V. 2. Repository 2.

(s) Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*.

(t) Hume's *History of England*, V. 4. 8vo. p. 328.

(u) *Ibid*.

thing but Necessity could compel Them to such an Exertion of their Faculties.

The Reader hath perceived that the boundless Prodigality of *Henry*, the Eighth, had, in Spite of those perpetual Extortions which He practised against his Subjects, so impoverished his Finances, that He was driven to the equally tyrannical, and pernicious Expedient of debasing the Coin. The Lord-Proteſtor *Somerſet*, who had been involved in Wars which drained the Royal Treasury, recurred to the ſame Practices, which were attended with the uſual Conſequences. The good Specie was either hoarded, or exported. Quantities of baſe Metal were coined at Home, or brought into the Kingdom from Abroad; The common People who received their Wages in it, could not buy the Articles of Life at the cuſtomary Prices. A mutual Diſtruſt took Place, Commerce drooped, and every Quarter of the Nation was filled with Murmurs.

In the Year, one Thouſand, four Hundred, and Fifty-one, *Edward* concluded, with *Gustavus Ericſon*, King of *Sweden*, a Treaty, by which the Latter was impowered, under the Condition of ſending Bullion into *England*, to carry away the Commodities of the Country, without paying the Duties. It was alſo ſtipulated that He ſhould not transport this Bullion to the Dominions of any other Prince; that if He ſent Ozimus, Steel, and Copper, He ſhould pay Cuſtom for *Engliſh* Articles, as an *Engliſhman*; and that if He ſent other Merchandize, He ſhould have free Intercourſe, paying the Duties, as a Stranger (*). This Bullion, howſoever inconfiderable, brought Buſineſs to the Mint. Good Money was coined, and much of the baſe Metal called in: a Proceeding of great Advantage to the Interests of Commerce.

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(*) Heylin, p. 109.

The Parliament which met in January, of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-two, passed an Act to prohibit the taking of Interest for Money, which, in that *Æra*, was denominated Usury (y). This Measure, not only unjust in itself, but of great Detriment to Trade, was abolished by the Repeal of the Edict, in the twelfth Year of the Reign of *Elizabeth*. In that of *Edward*, the Sixth, the common Rate of Interest, notwithstanding the Law, was at fourteen *per Cent* (z).

As the Debts of the Crown had arisen nearly to three hundred thousand Pounds (a), the Reader will scarcely be able to form a Judgment of the Value of Money, from an Account of the Annual Expences of a Court, where many Articles were left unpaid, although the King discovered a laudable Disposition to Frugality, which, had He lived, might have proved the Means of replenishing his exhausted Treasury. The Expences of the royal Household amounted in the first Year of this Reign, to forty-nine thousand, one hundred, and eighty-seven Pounds, and eighteen Shillings; in the second Year, to forty-six thousand, nine hundred, and two Pounds, and seven Shillings; in the third Year, to forty-six thousand, one hundred Pounds, and three Shillings; in the fourth Year, to one hundred thousand, five Hundred, and seventy-eight Pounds, and sixteen Shillings; in the fifth Year, to sixty-two thousand, eight hundred, and sixty-three Pounds, and nine Shillings; and in the sixth Year, to sixty-five thousand, nine hundred, and twenty-three Pounds, and sixteen Shillings (b).

By

(y) 5 and 6 Ed. VI. C. 1.

(z) Hayward, p. 318.

(a) Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, V. 2. p. 344.

(b) Strype, V. 2. p. 454, 455.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 53

By Indentures of the first, and second Years of the Reign of *Edward*, the Sixth, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of twenty Carats fine, and four Carats, Allay, was coined into thirty Pounds, by Tale, out of which the King had a great Profit: a Pound of Silver of four Ounces fine, and eight Ounces Allay, was coined into forty-eight Shillings; after which Rate, every Pound of fine Silver made, in current Money, seven Pounds, and four Shillings: The King's Profit on every Pound-Weight was four Pounds, and four Shillings. In the third Year of this Reign, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of twenty-two Carats fine, and two Carats Allay, was to be coined into thirty-four Pounds, by Tale, into Sovereigns at twenty Shillings a Piece, Half-Sovereigns, at ten Shillings a Piece, Crowns, at five Shillings, and Half-Crowns, at two Shillings, and Sixpence, a Piece: A Pound-Weight of Silver of six Ounces fine, and six Ounces, Allay, was to be coined into seventy-two Shillings, which were to go for twelve Pence, a Piece, by Tale; of which the Merchant, for every Pound-Weight of fine Silver, received three Pounds, four Shillings; and the King above four Pounds, Gain. In the fourth Year of this Reign, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, of twenty-three Carats, and three Grains, and a Half, fine, was coined into twenty-eight Pounds, and sixteen Shillings, by Tale; namely, into Sovereigns, at twenty-four Shillings, a Piece, Half-Sovereigns, at twelve Shillings, Angels, at eight Shillings, and Half-Angels, at four Shillings, a Piece. In the fifth Year of this Reign, a Pound-Weight of Silver, of three Ounces, fine, and nine Ounces, Allay, was coined into seventy-two Shillings, at twelve Pence, a Piece; and the Merchant received for every Ounce of fine Silver which he should bring to the Mint, ten Shillings of

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such Money; by which Means, twelve Ounces of fine Silver was exorbitantly raised to fourteen Pounds, and eighteen Shillings. In the sixth Year of his Reign, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard aforesaid, was coined into thirty-six Pounds by Tale; namely, twenty-four Sovereigns, at thirty Shillings a Piece, seventy-two Angels, at ten Shillings, a Piece, or one hundred, and forty-four Half-Angels: a Pound-Weight of Crown-Gold, of twenty-two Carats fine, and two Carats, Allay, was coined into thirty-three Pounds by Tale; namely, thirty-three Sovereigns, at twenty Shillings, a Piece, or sixty Half-Sovereigns, at ten Shillings, a Piece, or one hundred, and thirty-two Crowns, or two hundred, and sixty-four Half-Crowns: A Pound-Weight of Silver, consisting of eleven Ounces, and one Penny-Weight, fine, and nineteen Penny-Weights, Allay, was coined into three Pounds, by Tale; namely, twelve Crowns, or twenty-four Half-Crowns, or sixty Shillings, or one hundred, and twenty Sixpences, or two hundred, and forty Threepences, or seven hundred, and twenty Pence, or one thousand, four hundred, and forty Half-Pence, or two thousand, eight hundred, and eighty Farthings.

The gold Coins of this King are Sovereigns, Half-Sovereigns, Half-Angels, Crowns, and Half-Crowns (c). In the third, and fifth Years of this Reign, two Sorts of base Testoons were coined, concerning one of which, *Latimer*, Bishop of *Worcester*, wittily observed that it was such a pretty little Shilling that He had like to have put it away for an old Groat (d).

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(c) *Madox's History of the Exchequer*.—*Rapin's History of England*, V. 7. 8vo. p. 90, 91.—*Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library*, Folio, p. 264, 265.—*Edward the Sixth's Journal*.—*Stowe's Chronicle*, p. 606.

(d) *Latimer's Sermons*, Folio 30. a. and 44. b.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 55

As it will be necessary to expatiate (in the Lives of *Sebastian Cabot*, and Others,) on several naval Circumstances of this Reign, We shall only mention some Enterprizes, and reserve the Rest, for a future Part of this Work.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-one, the *Aucher*, a large Bark, commanded by *Roger Bodenham*, was hired by *Anselm Salvago*, for a trading Voyage up the *Streights*, and, particularly, to *Candia*, and *Chio*; an Undertaking which, at that Period, was deemed extraordinary (e).

Thomas Windham is the first *Englishman*, on Record, who sailed to the Coast of *Guinea*. Previous to this Enterprize, He, in the same Year (f), made two Voyages to the Coast of *Africa*, and touched, with three Ships, at the Port of *Zaphin*, or *Saphia*, and *Santa Cruz*, from whence He brought Sugar, Dates, Almonds, and Molosses (g).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three, *Windham* undertook a third Voyage to *Guinea*. He sailed from *Portsmouth*, with three Ships, accompanied by *Antonio Anes Pintado*, a Portuguese, and the first Promoter of the Enterprize. They traded for Gold, along the Coast of *Guinea*, and proceeded as far as *Benin*, where They were promised a Lading of Pepper. The Deaths of the two Commanders, and several of the Men, prevented the rest of the Crew, decreased to forty Persons, from staying to receive it; and They returned to *Plymouth*, with only one Ship, and an inconsiderable Cargo (h).

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In

(e) Hackluyt, Part 2. p. 99.

(f) 1551.

(g) Collection of Voyages, in six Volumes, Folio, V. 5. p. 246.

(h) Ibid.

In the same Year, *John Locke* sailed in the Ship *Matthew Gosson*, to *Leghorn* and *Candia*, from whence He intended to proceed to *Jerusalem*. His Ship was stopped, under some frivolous Pretence, by the *Spaniards*, at *Cadiz*; and He was obliged to hire a Vessel (at *Venice*) called the *Cavalla*, in which He continued his Voyage (i).

(i) Hackluyt, Part 2. p. 101.

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M E M O I R S

OF

SEBASTIAN CABOT.

HE was the Son of Sir *John Cabot*, an illustrious *Venetian*, with whose Enterprizes, for the Service of the State of *England*, the Reader hath already been made acquainted. A late Author (*a*) imagines that the present Object of our Inquiries was an *Italian*, on no better Ground than a Mistake in the Manuscript from whence He copied his Remarks. The Name is there written *Sebastiano Cabato*: It is, however, certain that He was born at *Bristol*, and either in, or about the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Seventy-seven (*b*). From his Father, He received a liberal Education, and attained a Knowledge of such Portions of the Mathematics as, in that *Æra*, were the most understood, but particularly of Arithmetic, Geography, and Cosmography. At the Age of seventeen, He had made some short Voyages, in Order that his theoretical Ideas might be enlarged by a competent Skill in the practical Part of Navigation. His other Brothers received the same mode of Education, and

rose

(*a*) Strype's Memorials, V. 2. p. 402.

(*b*) Grafton, p. 1343.

rose almost to an equal Degree of Eminence. Both settled abroad; the One at *Genoa*, and the Other, at *Venice* (c).

The first Voyage of Consequence, in which *Sebastian Cabot* was engaged, appears to have been That made by his Father, for the Discovery of the *North-West Passage*, of which an Account hath been already given (d). This Event happened in the Year one Thousand, four Hundred, and Ninety-seven, and, certainly proved the Occasion of first discovering to the *English* Seamen, a Passage to *North-America*. Whether *Sebastian Cabot* did not, after the Decease of his Father, prosecute his Design, and make a more perfect Discovery of *Newfoundland*, is a Point of which there is some reason to doubt (e); and the rather, as the several Accounts of this Expedition are extremely inconsistent. The celebrated *Peter Martyr*, who was intimately acquainted with *Sebastian*, and wrote in a Manner, from his own Mouth, observes, that the Voyage wherein he made his great Discovery towards the North, was performed in two Ships fitted out at his own Expence (f). This, by no Means agrees with his Father's Expedition, during which were employed a large Ship from the royal Navy, and four belonging to the Merchants of *Bristol* (g). A *Spanish* Writer (h), uncommonly accurate in chronological Matters, asserts that when *Cabot* sailed, at the Expence of *Henry*, the Seventh, in Order to make Discoveries

(c) Remarks on Hackluyt, MSS.

(d) Vol. I. of this Work, p. 436, &c.

(e) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 405.

(f) As will appear from a Comparison of the Accounts in Hackluyt, with Those in Purchas, and in the History of Travel, by Eden.—Decad. 3. Cap. 6.

(g) Fabian's MS. Chronicle, A. D. 1497.

(h) Lopez de Gomara Hist. des Ind. Occident. Lib. 2. Cap. 14.

veries towards the *North*, He passed beyond Cape Labrador, in somewhat more than fifty-eight Degrees, *North-Latitude*; then, turning towards the *West*, He sailed along the Coast to thirty-eight Degrees. So far this Relation coincides with our own: but *Ramusio*, an Italian Collector of Voyages (*i*), who wrote, with the Letter of *Sebastian Cabot*, at his Hand, mentions a Voyage, wherein He sailed *North*, and by *West*, to sixty-seven Degrees, and a Half; and would have proceeded farther, if He had not been prevented from the Execution of his Purposes, by a Mutiny amongst the Sailors.

A want of Precision is the great Fault of Writers in that *Æra*. Inattentive to Circumstances, and even less solicitous concerning Dates, They delivered a confused Account of Facts, which hath not only occasioned much Trouble to later Historians, but also prevented Them from obtaining Materials, on which They could depend. In the present Case, this Inconvenience is particularly felt; yet We may infer the Probability that *Sebastian* made more than one, and, perhaps, more than two Voyages into these Parts, by Virtue of a Commission from *Henry the Seventh*. If this Reasoning be admitted, the following Observations of a naval Writer (*k*), whose Authority, and perfect knowledge of his Subject are of considerable Weight, must appear a just Tribute to the Merit of our Adventurer, and the importance of his Discoveries.

“ To come to the Particulars of the Augmentation of our Trade, of our Plantations, and our Discoveries, because every Man shall have his Due therein, I will begin with *Newfoundland*, lying upon the main Continent

(*i*) Preface to the third Volume of his Collection.

(*k*) Sir William Monson. See Churchill's Voyages, V. 3. p. 396, 401.

nent of *America*, which the King of *Spain* challenges as first Discoverer; but as We acknowledge the King of *Spain* the first Light of the *West*, and *South-West* Parts of *America*, so We, and all the World must confess that We were the First that took Possession, for the Crown of *England*, of the *North* Part thereof, and not above two Years Difference betwixt the one, and the other; And, as the *Spaniards* have from that Day, and Year, held their Possessions in the *West*, so have We done the like in the *North*; and, although there is no Respect in Comparison of the Wealth betwixt the Countries, yet *England* may boast that the Discovery from the Year aforesaid, to this very Day, hath afforded the Subject, annually, one hundred, and twenty thousand Pounds, and increased the Number of many a good Ship, and Mariners, as our *Western* Parts can witness by their Fishery in *Newfoundland*. Neither can *Spain* challenge a more natural Right than We to its Discovery; for in that Case, We are both alike."

"If We deal truly with Others, and not deprive Them of their Right, it is *Italy* that must assume the Discovery to itself, as well in the one Part of *America*, as in the other. *Genoa*, and *Christopher Columbus* by Name, must carry away the Praise of it from *Spain*; for *Spain* had not that Voyage in Agitation, nor thought of it, till *Columbus* not only proposed, but accomplished it. The like may be said of *Sebastian Cabot*, (1) a *Venetian*, who, by his earnest Intercession to *Henry*, the Seventh, drew Him to the Discovery of *Newfoundland*, and called it by the Name of *Bacallao*, an *Indian* Name for Fish, from the Abundance of Fish He found on that Coast."

In

(1) From this Passage, it may be presumed that *Sebastian Cabot* not only discovered the Country, but established the Fishery of *Newfoundland*, and made more than one Voyage, in the Service of *Henry* the Seventh.

In this Passage, Sir William Monson hath with equal Judgment, and Impartiality, expatiated on the Advantages accruing to *England* from so important a Discovery. Although mistaken in the Name, ascribing to *Sebastian* what was due to Sir *John Cabot*, He is right, as to the Fact: The Latter was a Native and a Citizen of *Venice*; two Circumstances which induced the Author whom We have quoted (m) to stile *Italy* the Mother of Science, and the Nurse of the fine Arts.

The Success of *Sebastian* in this Enterprize is alone a sufficient Reason that his Name should be transmitted with Honour to Posterity; nor should it ever be forgotten that *Newfoundland* (the first of the *English* Plantations, and no inconsiderable Source of the Riches, and naval Power of the Kingdom,) was discovered by this illustrious Adventurer. Concerning his Engagements during a Period of twenty Years, our Historians are entirely silent. It would, however, be uncandid to suppose from hence that He remained inactive. The next Account of Him is given (but in too confused a Manner,) amongst some naval, and commercial Transactions, under the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixteen (n).

Sebastian had unfortunately contracted a Friendship with Sir *Thomas Pert*, at this Period, Vice Admiral of *England*. Through his Interest, the Former obtained from *Henry* the Eighth, a Ship completely furnished, in which, accompanied by other Vessels, the two Associates sailed on a Voyage of Discovery (o). Their first Intention was to have passed by the *South*, to the *East-Indies*: Proceeding to *Brasil*, and not proving so

suc-

(m) Sir William Monson.

(n) See Wheeler's Discourse of Trade; and the Account of the North-West Passage, by Captain Luke Fox.

(o) Hackluyt's Voyages, Part 5. p. 498.

successful as might have been expected, They shaped their Course for the Islands of *Hispaniola*, and *Porto Rico*, from whence, after having carried on a short, and inconsiderable Traffic with the Natives, They returned to *England*. The failure of this Enterprize was imputed to the Timidity, and bad Conduct of *Pert*. "If (observes an accurate Historian of that Æra,) manly Courage had not been wanting in these our Days, at such Time as our Sovereign Lord, King *Henry*, the Eighth, furnished, or sent out certain Ships, under the Governance of *Sebastian Cabot*, and one *Sir Thomas Pert*, whose saint Heart was the Cause that the Voyage took none Effect, it might happily have come to pass that the rich Treasury, called *Peru-laria*, which is now in *Sevil*, might long since have been in the Tower of *London*, to the King's great Honour, and the Wealth of this Realm) (p)."

It is extremely probable that the following Passage which is rendered from the *Spanish* History of the *West-Indies*, written by *Gonsalvo Oviedo*, alludes to the above Voyage (q).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventeen, an *English* Rover, under the Pretence of making a Voyage of Discovery, arrived, in Company with a large Ship, at those Parts of *Brazil* which are on the Coast of the firm Land, and from thence crossed over unto this Island of *Hispaniola*, and came near to the Mouth of the Haven of the City of *Saint Domingo*. At this Place, He sent the Ship's Boat, full of Men, on Shore, and desired a Permission to enter the Port, that He might traffic with his Merchandize. At this Instant,

(p) Dedication to the Duke of Northumberland, by Mr. Richard Eden, prefixed to the Translation of a Treatise of New-India, printed in 1555.

(q) Hist. Ind. Occid. Lib. 19. Cap. 13.

Instant, *Francisco de Tapia*, the Governor of the Castle, directed the Ordnance to be discharged at the Ship, which was then bearing towards the Haven. When the *Englishmen* perceived this, They withdrew Themselves out, and the Boats-Crew returned with all Speed, on Board. In Truth, the Warden of the Castle had committed an Oversight; for, if the Ship had entered into the Haven, the Men thereof could not have come to Land, without Leave both of the City, and of the Castle. Therefore, the People of the Ship, observing their Reception, sailed towards the Island of *Saint John*, and entering into the Port of *Saint Germaine*, held a Parley with the Townsmen, requiring Victuals, and Things needful to furnish their Ship, and complaining against the Inhabitants of the City of *Saint Domingo*, with whom they wished, without entertaining any bad Designs, to have traded for Money, and Merchandize. At *Saint Germaine*, the *English* were supplied with Provisions, in Return for which They presented the Natives with wrought Tin, and other Articles. Afterwards, They departed towards *Europe* where (as We never heard any more News of Them,) it is probable that They did not arrive.

The Disappointments experienced by *Sebastian*, on the Voyage with his unworthy Associate, *Sir Thomas Pert*, seem to have determined Him to quit *England*, and repair to *Spain*, where He was received with every Token of Respect, and raised to the most elevated Rank in his Profession. The King appointed Him chief Pilot of the Realm, in virtue of which Office, He was empowered to review all Projects of Discovery which, in that *Æra*, were equally numerous, and important. His extensive Abilities, and approved Integrity induced several opulent Merchants to enter into a Negotiation with Him, in the Year, one Thousand five Hundred, and

and Twenty-four, concerning a Voyage intended to be undertaken, at their joint Expence, by the lately-discovered Passage of *Magellan*.

It appears from the Writings of the *Spanish* Historian, (r) that *Sebastian* accepted of the Proposals offered by the Merchants, and about the Beginning of the Month of April, in the following Year, sailed, first, to the *Canaries*, then to the Islands of *Cape de Verde*, next to *Cape Saint Augustin*, and the Island of *Patos*, or *Geese*, and thence to *Bahia de todos los Santos*, (or the Bay of all Saints,) where He met with a Ship in the Service of *France*. *Sebastian* hath been accused of neglecting to take with him a Supply of Provisions sufficient for the Voyage: Be this as it may, the Crew were certainly reduced to a very short Allowance, long before their Arrival at this Island, where the *Indians* presented Them with such Necessaries as the Country afforded; a Liberality too ungratefully requited by *Sebastian*, who, at his Departure, perceiving that all Artifices were unsuccessful, had Recourse to Violence, and carried off four Sons of the *Indian* Chiefs. From the Bay of all Saints, He proceeded to the River of *Plata*, and on his Approach towards a desert Island, gave Orders that his Vice-Admiral, *Martin Mendez*, and the Captains *Francis de Raias*, and *Michael de Rodas* should be seized, and left upon it, in Resentment of the Freedom with which They had inveighed against his Conduct. This Act of Barbarity, although calculated to intimidate the Officers, and Mariners, did not prevent them from declaring that they were apprehensive of his Management of the Vessel, in the *Streights*; and that for this Reason, added to the Scarcity of Provisions, They were resolved not to proceed with

(r) *Herrera*, Decad. 3. Lib. 3. Cap. 3.

SEBASTIAN CABOT. 65

with Him, to the Spice-Islands. *Sebastian*, therefore, sailed up the River *Plata*, and, about thirty Leagues above the Mouth, discovered an Island which he called *Saint Gabriel*, nearly a League in Compass, and half a League from the Continent towards *Brasil*. There, He anchored; and, rowing with the Boats, three Leagues higher came to a deep River which He called *San Salvador* or *Saint Saviour*. On the same Side, was a safe Harbour, whither He brought up his Ships, and unladed them, because, at the Mouth of the River, there was not much Water. Having erected a Fort, and left some Men within it, He resolved to proceed up the River, with Boats, and a flat-bottomed Caravel, in order to make Discoveries; concluding that even without passing through the Streights to the Spice Islands, his Voyage might not prove altogether fruitless. Advancing thirty Leagues, He entered the River *Zarcarana*, and availing Himself of the welcome Reception which he met with from the Natives of the adjoining Coast, constructed another Fort, calling it *Santi Spiritus*, (or the Fort of the Holy Ghost,) but by his Associates it was named *Cabot's Fort*.

He, thence, discovered the Shore of the River *Parana*, which is that of *Plata*, near to which He found several Islands, and Rivers; and keeping along the greatest Stream, at the End of two hundred Leagues, approached another River, (to which the *Indians* gave the Name of *Paraguay*) and left the great River on the Right Hand, supposing that it bent towards the Coast of *Brazil*. Having run up thirty-four Leagues, *Sebastian* observed People employed in tilling the Earth: a Circumstance equally new, and unexpected. At this Place, a large Body of *Indians* rose to oppose Him, and actually prevented Him from proceeding any farther. In the Conflict, twenty-five of the *Spaniards*

were slain. The Loss on the Side of their Assailants was less considerable. Three of the Mariners who had ventured up the Country, in Search of *Palmetos*, a delicious Fruit, were, also take Prisoners.

While *Sebastian* was thus employed, *James Garcia*, engaged, likewise, in a Voyage of Discovery, steered his Course towards the River *Plata*, and (without expecting to meet an earlier Adventurer than Himself,) came into it, at the Beginning of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Twenty-seven. He had, some Time before, sent away his own Ship alleging that it was too large for his Purpose; and now, having proceeded on his Passage, with two Brigantines, on Board of which were sixty Men, He arrived at that Part of the River *Parana*, which lies North, and North-West, and anchored under the Fort erected by *Sebastian*.

In the Harbour of *St. Anne*, at about the Distance of one hundred, and ten Leagues from the Fort of the Holy Ghost, *Garcia* had his first Interview with *Sebastian*; and Both, after a short Stay, returned to the Fort, from whence They sent Messengers into *Spain*. Amongst These, were *Francis Calderon*, and *George Barlow*, who gave a clear, and full Description of the fine Countries bordering on the River *Plata*; asserting that *Sebastian* had not only discovered, but subdued a vast Tract of Land, in Confirmation of which Success, They produced Gold, Silver, and other valuable Commodities. They next demanded a Supply of Provision, Ammunition, and the necessary Articles of Trade, together with a competent Recruit of Seamen, and Soldiers. With this Request, the Merchants, by whom the Squadron intrusted to *Cabot* was fitted out, were unwilling to comply, and rather chose that their Rights should escheat to the Crown of *Castile*. On this Occasion, the King took the Management of the Affair into

into his own Hands; yet so little Attention did He pay to those Preparations which had been made under his Directions, but were remissly carried on, that *Sebastian Cabot*, whose Patience was exhausted, and who had remained during five Years in *America*, determined to return Home; and, accordingly, embarked the Remainder of his Men, together with all his Effects, on Board the largest of his Ships, and left the Rest behind (s).

In the Spring of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Thirty one, *Sebastian* arrived at the Court of *Spain*, and gave an Account of his Expedition. We learn from the *Spanish* Writers that He was not honoured with a gracious Reception. The Severity with which He had treated the Mutineers on board his Ships, had been represented, with every aggravating Circumstance, to the King; and his Owners, likewise, complained, in bitter Terms, that He had neglected to pursue his Voyage to the *Moluccor*. Notwithstanding this formidable Opposition, He was continued in his Places, and remained during several Years, in the *Spanish* Service. At length, *Sebastian* was invited back to *England* (t). What gave Occasion to this Overture hath not been mentioned by any Author whose Writings are now extant; but a naval Historian (u) offers the following Supposition to the Consideration of the Reader.

Mr. *Robert Thorne*, an *English* Merchant (already mentioned with Commendation,) residing at *Seville*, was intimately acquainted with *Cabot*, and one of his Owners in the last Expedition (x). It doth not, there-

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(s) Herrera. Decad. 3. Lib. 5. Cap. 3. — Churchill's Voyages, V. 1. Introduction.

(t) Hackluyt's Voyages, Part 3. p. 7. — Preface to the third Volume of Ramusio.

(u) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 412.

(x) Hackluyt's Voyages, Part 3. p. 726.

fore, appear, in the least unlikely, that this Gentleman, after his Return from *Newfoundland*, might importune *Cabot* to think of coming home. This Conjecture is the more probable, as the Latter, on his Arrival in *England*, settled at *Bristol*, of which City Mr. *Thorne* was an eminent Merchant, and, once, Mayor (y). These Transactions arose towards the twenty-fourth Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the *Eighth*, about which Time, *Sebastian* actually returned, and established Himself, together with his Family, in *England*.

At the Accession of *Edward*, the Sixth, this illustrious Seaman was introduced to the Duke of *Somerset*, Protector of the Realm, who, amongst other Marks of Favour, presented Him to the King. *Edward*, with an Attention, which considering his Youth, was equally an Object of Approbation, and Surprise, had acquired a competent Knowledge of most Circumstances relating to the Marine. In his Cabinet, were Charts, and Plans of every Harbour, not only belonging to his Dominions, but, also, in *Scotland*, and in *France*. These He had so frequently, and carefully examined, that whensoever any particular Fort became the Subject of Conversation, He could, from Memory, describe its proper Entrance, and Depth of Water, together with each Advantage, and Inconvenience (z). To a Prince endued with such Accomplishments, the Instructions of *Sebastian* were always welcome; That He was liberally rewarded appears from Letters Patent, conceived in the following Terms (a).

“ EDWARD, the Sixth, by the Grace of GOD, King
“ of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the
“ Faith,

(y) Volume the first of this Work, p. 488, 489.

(z) Burnet's History of the Reformation, V. 2. p. 2. p. 225.

(a) Hackluyt, Part 3. p. 10.—*Rymer's Fœdera*, V. 15. p. 181.

" Faith, to all *Christian* People to whom these Pre-
 " sents shall come, sendeth Greeting : Know Ye, that
 " We, in Consideration of the good and acceptable
 " Service done, and to be done, unto Us, by Our be-
 " loved, Servant, *Sebastian Cabot*, of Our special Grace,
 " certain Knowledge, mere Motion, and by the Ad-
 " vice, and Counsel of Our most Honourable Uncle,
 " *Edward*, Duke of *Somerset*, Governor of Our Per-
 " son and Protector of Our Kingdoms, Dominions,
 " and Subjects, and of the Rest of our Council, have
 " given, and granted, and by these Presents do give, and
 " grant, to the said *Sebastian Cabot*, a certain Annu-
 " ty, or yearly Revenue, of one hundred, threescore,
 " and six Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and four Pence,
 " Sterling, to have, enjoy, and, yearly, receive the
 " aforesaid Annuity, or yearly Revenue, to the afore-
 " said *Sebastian Cabot*, during his natural Life, out of
 " our Treasury, at the Receipt of Our Exchequer, at
 " *Westminster*, at the Hands of our Treasurers, and
 " Paymasters, there remaining for the Time being, at
 " the Feasts of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin
 " *Mary*, the Nativity of *St. John Baptist*, *St. Michael*,
 " the Archangel, and the Nativity of Our Lord, to be
 " paid by equal Portions. And farther, of Our more
 " special Grace, and by the Advice, and Consent afore-
 " said, We do give, and by these Presents do grant,
 " unto the aforesaid *Sebastian Cabot*, so many, and so
 " great Sums of Money, as the said Annuity, or year-
 " ly Revenue, of one hundred, threescore, and six
 " Pounds, thirteen Shillings, and Four Pence, doth a-
 " mount, and rise unto, from the Feast of *St. Michael*,
 " the Archangel, last past, unto this present Time, to
 " be had, and received by the aforesaid *Sebastian Ca-*
 " *bot*, and his Assigns, out of Our aforesaid Treasury,
 " at the Hands of Our aforesaid Treasurers, and Offi-
 " cers of Our Exchequer, of Our free Gift, without

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Account, or any Thing else therefore to be yielded,
 paid or made to Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, for-
 asmuch as herein express Mention is made to the con-
 trary.

IN Witness whereof, We have caused these Our
 Letters to be made Patent. Witness the King, at
Westminster, the sixth Day of *January*, in the second
 Year of his Reign. The Year of Our Lord, one
 Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-nine."

In the same Year, *D'Arras*, the Minister of the
 Emperor, signified to Sir *Thomas Cheyne*, and Sir *Philip
 Hoby*, the English Ambassadors resident at the Court of
Brussels, that his Imperial Majesty desired that King
Edward, the Sixth, would send over thither *Sebastian
 Cabot*, as He could be of no great Service to the Latter,
 who was little interested in the Success of Voyages to
 the *Indian Seas*; and more especially, as his Attend-
 ance on the Emperor was become absolutely necessary;
 It was added that he still held under Him that Post of
 Grand Pilot of the *Indies*, and enjoyed a Pension, in
 such a Manner, as the Emperor should at some con-
 venient Opportunity, declare unto the King's Council.
 The Historians of that *Æra* have not informed us that
 this Application was, in any Shape, complied with (b).

Previous to the Dissolution of the Corporation of
 German Merchants residing within the *Steel-Yard*, the
 Advice of *Sebastian* had been taken, and, in a great
 Measure, followed by *Edward*. It is scarcely neces-
 sary to inform our Readers that anciently, the Trade of
 England was, in general, conducted by Foreigners, and,
 chiefly, the *Easterlings*, or Inhabitants of the *Hanse-
 Towns*, which were the free Cities of *Germany*. To
 these Persons, *Henry*, the Third, had been much in-
 debted,

(b) Strype's Memorials, V. 2. p. 190.

SEBASTIAN CABOT. 71

debted, during his Wars, for pecuniary Supplies, and in Recompence for this Liberality, conferred on Them extensive Privileges, in *England*, releasing Them from the Payment of several heavy Duties imposed on other Aliens. At different Times, but more particularly in the Reign of *Edward*, the Fourth, these Merchants had trespassed on the Rights granted in their Charters, which were thereupon adjudged to be forfeited ; but in Consideration of a valuable Present, They were permitted to renew them. In the Year one 'Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty one, They had not only monopolized the woollen-Trade, but, by employing the Shipping of their own Country, exceedingly injured the Navigation of *England*. At length, the Company of *Merchant-Adventurers*, at the Head of which was *Sebastian Cabot*, presented to the Council, (at that Period, desirous of a Pretence for annulling the Privileges of the Corporation,) a Charge against the Merchants of the *Steel-Yard*, who were immediately ordered to stand on their Defence. In the Month of February, of the following Year, their Patents were revoked by the royal Authority. Against this Measure, which was not, however, embraced, without the Advice of the King's Solicitor-General, the Recorder of *London*, and other Council, learned in the Law, Complaints were made by *Lubeck*, *Hamburgh*, and the different *Hanse-Towns*. *Edward* remained inflexible ; and the commercial Part of the Nation had reason to approve his Conduct, since the pleasing result was a new Spirit of Industry, discernible in every Quarter of the Kingdom. The great Offence objected to the *German* Merchants was, that, whereas by their Charter, They were allowed to export Goods, at one, and a Quarter *per Cent* Custom, from which they reaped excessive Profits, yet, not contented with these Advantages, They,

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been much in-
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They, in direct Violation of their Charter, had, in the Year, one Thousand five Hundred, and Fifty-one, exported forty-four Thousand Cloths, whilst all the *English* Merchants together did not ship above eleven hundred Cloths. At this Period, the Factors of the *Steel-Yard* (so called from the Steel imported by Them,) were Masters of all the *English* Markets, and by setting their own arbitrary Prices on Imports, and Exports, became the Oppressors of all other Dealers. Nothing but the spirited, and prudent Conduct of *Edward* could have remedied so intolerable a Grievance. Yet, even under the Dissolution of their Charter, the *German* Merchants had no justifiable Reason to complain, as They were frequently favoured with Licences for the Exportation and Importation of their Goods (c).

In May, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and fifty-two, the King granted a Licence, together with Letters of safe Conduct to such Persons as should embark on board of three Ships, to be employed for the Discovery of a Passage, by the *North* to the *East-Indies*. At this Period, *Sebastian Cabot* was Governor of the Company of *Merchant-Adventurers*; and it was by his Advice that the Enterprize was undertaken, and through his Interest, that the Patronage of the Court was extended to Those who engaged in it (d). The several Relations of this Transaction are widely different. From the Variation of a whole Year, in the Dates, a naval Historian (e) is led to conclude that there

(c) See the Minutes of these Proceedings in the Diary of *Edward*, the Sixth.—Burnet, V. 2, p. 207.—*Strype*, V. 2, p. 295.—See, also, the Decree at large in *Wheeler's* Treatise of Commerce, p. 94.

(d) *Strype*, (Vol. II. p. 504.) who according to Mr. *Campbell*) mistakes in supposing that the Ships, lent by *Edward*, were those which sailed with Sir *Hugh Willoughby*.

(e) *Campbell's* Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 416.

there must have been two distinct Undertakings; the One, under the immediate Protection of *Edward*, and not successful; the Other, supported by the united Contributions of the Merchants, and effectual. The last Enterprize will be more properly mentioned in the Account of the Voyage of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*; and with Regard to the first Enterprize, it is, in this Place, sufficient to observe that it was no sooner proposed to *Edward* than He cheerfully supplied Sir *George Barnes*, the Lord-Mayor, Mr. *William Garret* (or *Gerrard*), one of the Sheriffs of *London*, and Mr. *Yorke*, and Mr. *Wyndham*, two of the Adventurers, with the *Primrose*, and the *Moon*, Ships of the royal Navy, on Condition that They should enter into a Bond to deliver to the King, at Midsummer, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-four, two Vessels of like Burden, and in as excellent a Condition. At the same Time, *Edward*, to reward *Sebastian* for his Expence, and Trouble on the Occasion, presented Him with the Sum of two hundred Pounds (*f*).

What farther relates to this illustrious Adventurer may, in this Place, be omitted; and will, with stricter Propriety, be introduced, partly, amongst the Memoirs of Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, and, partly, during the Relation of those Events which happened within the Reign of *Mary*. We need only add that He is supposed to have died nearly at the Age of eighty Years, and (which is not the least honourable Circumstance of his Life) that he was the first Observer of the Variation of the Compass, a Matter of such infinite Consequence in Navigation, and leading to Inquiries, with Regard to which the Learned have, at different Periods, so advantageously employed their Talents (*g*). It is remarked

(*h*) *Styke's Memorials*, V. 2. p. 402.

(*g*) *Stowe's Annals*, p. 811.—*Varenius's Geography*, p. 837.

marked by a naval Writer (*A*), that an *Italian* (*i*), celebrated for his judicious Collection of Voyages, hath asserted that *Sebastian* was his Countryman; but that (if We believe Himself,) He was an *Englishman*, both by Nature, and Affection (*k*), and, for this Reason, added to his eminent Services, intitled to a Place within the naval, and commercial Histories of *Britain*. (*l*).

(*h*) Mr. Campbell.

(*i*) Gio. Battista Ramusio.—Preface to the third Volume.

(*k*) Strype's Memorials, V. 2. p. 319.

(*l*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 404.

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Vol. I. p. 404.

T H E

T H E
V O Y A G E S
O F

Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY,
To Discover the NORTH-EAST PASSAGE to
CHINA: And of
Capt. RICHARD CHANCELLOR,
To ARCHANGEL.

I N the united Relations of two Voyages which were the Consequences of one Enterprize, We have arranged our Facts, after the Manner of a naval Historian (a), whose Labours have frequently been serviceable to the Progress of this Work. These Commanders were not equally fortunate. The First perished, whilst the Crews belonging to his own, and to another Ship, were involved in the same Fate. The Second returned twice in Safety, after having experienced Successes answerable to his most sanguine Expectations (b).

It may be necessary to remind the Reader that, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three, *Sebastian Cabot* offered Proposals to the King for the

(a) Lediard's Naval History, Folio, V. i. p. 116.

(b) Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 226, &c.—Purchas, V. 3. p. 221, &c.—Introduction to the Collection of Voyages.

the Discovery of the *North-East* Passage to *China*, and to the *Indies*. Soon afterwards, three Ships were fitted out by a Subscription amongst the principal Merchants, in Shares, of twenty-five Pounds, each; the whole Sum amounting to six thousand Pounds. On the Payment of this Money, the Contributors became Members of a Society established for the Discovery of new Lands. The three Ships fitted out for the Voyage, were the *Bona Esperanza*, of one hundred, and twenty Tons; the *Edward Bonaventure*, of one hundred, and sixty Tons; and the *Bona Confidentia*, of ninety Tons. The Command of the First, which was sheathed with Lead, in Order to preserve Her from the Worms, was given to the Admiral, Sir *Hugh Willoughby*. Of the Second, *Richard Chancellor* was appointed Captain, and Pilot-Major; and *William Jefferson*, *Stephen Burroughs*, and *Cornelius Dursfurth* were Masters of the Third. To Each of these Ships, were added a Pinnace, and a Boat.

From *Sebastian Cabot*, the Commander in Chief received the Instructions by which He was to regulate his Conduct. These are not only printed in *Hackluyt* (c), but yet extant in the Hands of the *Russian Company* (d). Should the curious Reader be inclined to refer to them, He will find them, under the following Title. Previous to the Insertion of it, We must not cancel the Remark that this Application to *Sebastian* shews how great a Trust was reposed in Him by the Government, and by the Merchants of *England*; and that the Instructions themselves are the clearest Proofs of his Sagacity, and Penetration, and the fullest Justification of those Persons who relied implicitly on his Conduct.

“ Ordi-

(c) Vol. I. Part 1. p. 226.

(d) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 417.

Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY, &c. 77

" Ordinances, Instructions, and Advertisements, of, and for the Direction of the intended Voyage to *Cathay*, compiled, made, and delivered by the right worshipful *Sebastian Cabot*, Esquire, Governor of the Mystery, and Company of the *Merchant Adventurers*, for the Discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places unknown; on the ninth of May, in the Year of our LORD GOD, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three, and in the seventh Year of the Reign of our most dread Sovereign Lord, *Edward*, the Sixth, by the Grace of GOD, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and of the Church of *England*, and *Ireland*, in Earth, Supreme Head."

Sebastian, likewise, appointed a Council of Twelve, consisting of the Admiral, and the four abovementioned Officers, together with the Chaplain, one Gentleman, and the three Master-Mates. These, were, at the same Time, intrusted with Letters-Missive from *Edward*, to the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates, inhabiting the *North-East* Parts of the World, towards the Empire of *Cathy*. The *English* Monarch had thus addressed Them, in *Latin*, *Greek*, and other Languages.

" EDWARD the Sixth, by the Grace of GOD, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Judges, and Governours of the Earth, and all Others, having any excellent Dignity on the same, in all Places under the universal Heaven; Peace, Tranquility, and Honour be unto You, and your Lands, and Regions, which are under your Dominions, and to every of You, as is convenient.

" FORASMUCH as the Great, and Almighty GOD hath given unto Mankind, above all other living
" Crea-

" Ordi-

“ Creatures, such a Heart, and Desire, that every
“ Man covets to join Friendship with others, to love,
“ and be loved, also to give, and receive mutual Be-
“ nefits ; It is, therefore the Duty of all Men, ac-
“ cording to their Power, to maintain, and increase
“ this Desire in every Man, with well Deserving to all
“ Men ; and especially to shew this good Affection to
“ Such, as being moved with this Desire, come unto
“ Them from far Countries. For howmuch the longer,
“ Voyage They have attempted for this Intent, so
“ much the more do They thereby declare that this
“ Desire hath been ardent in Them. Furthermore also,
“ the Examples of our Fathers, and Predecessors do
“ invite us hereunto ; forasmuch as They have ever
“ gently, and lovingly, intreated Such as of friendly
“ Mind came to Them, as well from Countries near
“ Hand, as far remote, commending Themselves to
“ their Protection. And if it be Right, and Equity,
“ to shew such Humanity towards all Men, doubtless
“ the same ought chiefly to be shewed to Merchants,
“ who, wandering about the World, search both the
“ Land, and the Sea, to carry such good, and profit-
“ able Things, as are found in their Countries, to re-
“ mote Regions, and Kingdoms, and again to bring
“ from the same, such Things as They find there com-
“ modious for their own Countries : Both as well that
“ the People, to whom They go, may not be destitute
“ of such Commodities, as their Countries bring not
“ forth to Them, as that also They may be Partakers
“ of such Things, whereof They abound. For the
“ GOD of Heaven and Earth, greatly providing for
“ Mankind, would not that all Things should be found
“ in one Region to the End that One should have
“ Need of Another, that, by this Means, Friendship
“ might be established among all Men, and every One
“ seek

" seek to gratify All. For the establishing and Fur-
 " therance of which universal Amity, certain Men of
 " Our Realm, moved hereunto by the said Desire,
 " have instituted, and taken upon them a Voyage by
 " Sea, into far Countries, to the Intent, that between
 " Our People, and them, a Way may be opened, to
 " bring in, and carry out Merchandizes, desiring Us
 " to farther their Enterprize. Who, assenting to their
 " Petition, have licensed the right valiant, and wor-
 " thy, Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, Knight, and Others,
 " Our trusty and faithful Servants, which are with
 " Him, according to their Desire, to go to Countries
 " to Them heretofore unknown, as well to seek such
 " Things as We lack, as also to carry unto Them,
 " from Our Regions, such Things as They lack. So
 " that hereby not only Commodity may ensue, both
 " to Them, and Us, but also an indissoluble, and per-
 " petual League of Friendship be established between
 " Us both, while They permit Us to take of their
 " Things, such whereof they have Abundance, in
 " their Regions, and We again grant Them such
 " Things of Ours, whereof they are destitute. We,
 " therefore, desire You, Kings, and Princes, and all
 " Other, to whom there is any Power on the Earth,
 " to permit unto these Our Servants free Passage by
 " your Regions, and Dominions; For, They shall
 " not touch any Thing of yours, unwilling unto You.
 " Consider You, that They also are Men. If, there-
 " fore, They shall stand in Need of any Thing, We
 " desire You, of all Humanity, and for the Nobility,
 " which is in You, to aid, and help Them with such
 " Things as They lack; Receiving again of Them
 " such Things as They shall be able to give You in
 " Recompense. Shew Yourselves so towards Them,
 " as You would that We, and our Subjects should
 " shew

“ shew Ourselves towards your Servants, if, at any
 “ Time, they should pass by our Regions.

“ THUS doing, We promise You, by the GOD of
 “ all Things that are contained in Heaven, Earth, and
 “ the Sea, and by the Life, and Tranquility of Our
 “ Kingdoms, that We will, with like Humanity, ac-
 “ cept your Servants, if, at any Time, They shall
 “ come to Our Kingdoms, where They shall be as
 “ friendly, and gently be entertained, as if They were
 “ born in Our Dominions, that We may hereby re-
 “ compensate the Favour, and Benignity, which You
 “ have shewed to Our Men. Thus after We have
 “ desired You, Kings, and Princes, &c. with all Hu-
 “ manity, and Favour, to entertain Our well-beloved
 “ Servants, We will pray our ALMIGHTY GOD,
 “ grant You long Life, and Peace, which never shall
 “ have End.

“ Written in *London*, which is the chief City of
 “ Our Kingdom. in the Year from the Creation of
 “ the Word, five Thousand, five Hundred, and Fif-
 “ teen, in the Month of February, the fourteenth
 “ Day of the Month, and seventh Year of Our Reign.

In Order that the Reader may be furnished with the
 most authentic Information, We shall insert an Ac-
 count of this Voyage, from a Journal which was found
 in the *Bona Esperanza*, and had been written by Sir
Hugh Willoughby, who, wintering in *Lapland*, was, with
 all his Company, frozen to Death.

After an Exposition of the Design of the Voyage, He
 enumerates the Names, and Offices of every Person,
 on Board of the three Ships. It will, however, be
 sufficient, if We take Notice only of the Last.

In the *Bona Esperanza*, Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, Ad-
 miral, and Commander in Chief, were a Master, and
 a Master's Mate; six Merchants; a Master-Gunner; a Boat-

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a Boatswain, and his Mate ; four Quarter Masters, and four Mates ; two Surgeons ; two Carpenters ; a Purser and his Mate, who officiated also as Cooper ; a Cook, and his Mate ; and ten Sailors ; in all, thirty-eight Persons.

In the *Edward Bonaventure*, Richard Chancellor, Captain and Pilot Major of the Fleet, were a Master, and a Master's Mate ; two Merchants ; a Chaplain ; seven Persons whose Posts are not named ; a Gunner, and his Mate ; two other Gunners ; a Surgeon ; a Boatswain, and his Mate ; four Quarter-Masters ; a Steward, and his Mate ; a Cook ; a Carpenter ; a Cooper ; and twenty-one Sailors ; in all, fifty Persons.

In the *Bona Confidentia*, Cornelius Dursfurth, Master, were a Master's Mate ; three Merchants ; a Gunner, and his Mate ; a Boatswain, and his Mate ; four Quarter-Masters ; a Steward ; a Cook, and his Mate ; a Carpenter ; and eleven Sailors. Of this Ship's Company were twenty-eight Persons ; and the Number in the whole Squadron amounted to one Hundred, and sixteen Persons.

Sir Hugh next introduces the Oaths administered to the Captain, and Master ; the first of which is drawn up in the following Terms.

" YOU shall swear to be a faithful, true, and loyal
" Subject, in all Points, and Duties, that to Subjects
" appertain, to our Sovereign Lord, the King's Majesty,
" His Heirs and Successors ; And that You shall well,
" and truly to the utmost of your Capacity, Wit,
" and Knowledge, serve this present Voyage, committed to your Charge, and not to give up, nor sooner
" intermit the same, until You shall have achieved the
" same, so far forth, as you may, without Danger of
" your Life, and Loss of the Fleet. You shall give
" good, true and faithful Council to the said Society,

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" and

“ and to such as shall have the Charge, with, or under
 “ You, and not to disclose the Secrets, or Privities of
 “ the same to any Person, by any Manner of Means,
 “ to the Prejudice, Hurt, or Damage of it. You
 “ shall administer Justice to all Men under your Charge,
 “ without Respect of Person, or any Affection, that
 “ might move you to decline from the true Administra-
 “ tion of Justice. And farther, You shall observe, and
 “ cause to be observed, as much as in You lies, all,
 “ and singular Rules, Articles, Provisions hitherto
 “ made, or hereafter to be made, for the Preservation,
 “ or safe Conduct of the Fleet, and Voyage, and Be-
 “ nefit of the Company. You shall not permit, nor
 “ suffer the Stock, or Goods of the Company to be
 “ wasted, embezzled, or consumed, but shall conserve
 “ the same whole, and entire, without Diminishment,
 “ until You shall have delivered, or caused to be deliver-
 “ ed the same, to the Use of the Company. And,
 “ finally You shall use yourself in all Points, Sorts, and
 “ Conditions, as to a faithful Captain, and Brother of
 “ this Company, shall belong, and appertain. So help
 “ you God, &c.”

The Oath administered to the Master is thus expressed :

“ YOU shall swear by the Holy Contents in that
 “ Book, that You, according, and to the utmost of
 “ your Knowledge, and good Understanding, in Ma-
 “ riner's Science, and Craft, shall, in your Vocation,
 “ do your best to conduct the good Ship, called the N,
 “ whereof You are now Master, under God, both un-
 “ to, and from the Ports of your Discovery, and so
 “ use your Endeavour, and faithful Diligence, in
 “ Charging, Discharging, Loading again, and Run-
 “ ning the same Ship, as may be most for the
 “ Be-

"Benefit, and Profit of this right Worshipful Fellowship. And You shall not privately bargain, buy, sell, exchange, barter, or distribute any Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, or Things whatsoever (necessary Tackles and Victuals for the Ship only excepted,) to, or for your own Lucre, Gain, or Profit, neither to, nor for the private Lucre, Gain, or Profit, of any other Person, or Persons, whatsoever. And farther, if you shall know any Boatwain, Mariner, or any other Person or Persons, whatsoever, to buy, sell, barter, truck, or exchange any Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, or Things for private Account, Reckoning, or Behalf, You shall do your best to withstand, and let the same; And if you cannot conveniently so do, that then, before the Discharge of such Goods, bought for private Account, You shall give Knowledge thereof, to the *Cape-Merchant* of this said Fellowship, for the Time being. And you shall not receive, nor take, nor suffer to be received, or taken, into your said Ship, during this Voyage, any Manner of Person or Persons, whatsoever, going, or returning, but only those Mariners, which, without Fraud, or Guile, shall be hired to be of your Company, and to serve in Mariner's Craft and Science only; so help you GOD, &c."

On the tenth of May, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three, these Adventurers departed from *Ratcliff*, and on the eighteenth of the same Month, sailed from *Gravesend*. They did not, however, get clear of the Land of *England*, until some Weeks afterwards; and it is at this Period, that our Journalist begins his most material Observations.

On the three and twentieth of *June*, the Wind being fair in the *Southwest*, We haled into the Sea, to *Orfordness*, and from thence, into the Sea, ten Leagues,

North-East. Then, being past the Sands, We changed our Course, six Leagues, *North-North-East*. About Midnight, We changed our Course again, and went due *North*, continuing in the same, unto the seven and twentieth.

The seven and twentieth, about seven of the Clock, *North-North-West*, two and forty Leagues, in Order to fall in with *Shetland*. The Wind then veered to the *West*, so that We could lie but *North*, and by *West*, continuing in the same Course, sixty Leagues, where-by We could not reach *Shetland*. We then sailed *North*, sixteen Leagues by Estimation, after that, *North* and by *West*, and *North-North-West*, then *South-East*, with divers other Courses, traversing, and tracing the Seas, by Reason of sundry contrary Winds, until the fourteenth of *July*; And then, the Sun entering into *Leo*, We discovered the Land *East* of us, towards which We made all the Sail We could, that Night. When We went on Shore, with our Pinnace, We found about thirty little Houses, by which We knew the Country was inhabited; But the People, as We supposed, were fled for Fear of us.

We found here a great Number of little Islands, which We afterwards understood were called *Ægeland*, and *Halgeland*, lying *North*, and by *East*, from *Orfordness*, in the Latitude of sixty-six Degrees, and at about two Hundred, and fifty Leagues Distance. From thence, We sailed twelve Leagues *Northwest*, and, finding many other Islands there, We came to an Anchor, on the nineteenth. We manned our Pinnace, and went on Shore, where We found a great many People, mowing and making of Hay, who came to us, and welcomed us. These Islands, which are innumerable, are called the Islands of *Ross*, belonging to the King of *Denmark*, and situated in sixty-six Degrees, and

and thirty Minutes. The Wind being contrary, We staid here three Days, in which Time We took a great Number of Fowls of several Kinds.

The twenty-second, the Wind coming fair, We departed from *Rosß*, sailing *North-East*, and kept the Sea, until the seven, and twentieth. We then drew near to Land, which was still *East* of us, and sent in our Pinnace to seek a Harbour. She found several very good ones, into one of which, called *Stanfrew*, We stood in with our Ships. We found the Land to be Islands, called *Lofot*, plentifully inhabited, by a very courteous People, subject to the King of *Denmark*. These Islands are in sixty-eight Degrees, and about thirty Leagues *North-North-East*, from the Islands of *Rosß*; But we could not learn how far They were from the main Land, though We remained there until the thirtieth.

The thirtieth, about Noon, We weighed Anchor, and, putting out to Sea, sailed along these Islands, *North-North-East*, keeping the Land still in Sight, until the second of August. We then haled in close to the Shore, to enquire what Land it was. There came a Skiff on Board us, from the Island (as We understood it was) of whose People We asked many Questions, and were told it was the Island of *Seynam*, in the Latitude of seventy Degrees, and thirty Leagues from *Stanfrew*, likewise belonging to the King of *Denmark*: But We found no Merchandize there, excepting dried Fish, and Train Oil. Our Design being now to sail for *Finmark*, We enquired if We could not have a Pilot to carry us thither, and were told, if We would bear in, We should have a good Harbour, and a Pilot, the next Day, to carry us to *Wardhouse*, the strongest, and most frequented Fort in *Finmark*. We attempted to enter the Harbour; But the Land being very high.

on every Side, there came such Flaws of Wind, and terrible Whirlwinds, that it was impossible for us to bear in ; On the contrary, We were obliged to put to Sea again, our Pinnace being unshipped. We sailed *North*, and by *East*, the Wind increasing so much, that We were not able to carry any Sail ; but took them in, and lay adrift, to let the Storm pass over. That Night, what with the Violence of the Wind, and the Thickness of the Fog, We were not able to keep within Sight of one another ; And about Midnight, to our great Trouble, We lost our Pinnace. As soon as it was Day, and the Fog was cleared up, We looked out for our Companions. We perceived only one Ship, to the *Leeward*, which afterwards proved to be the *Confidenza*, but the *Edward* We could not see. (The Place where they separated is by some Authors called the *North-Cape*.)

The Flaw being somewhat abated, We, and the *Confidenza*, hoisted up our Sails, the fourth, sailing *North East* and by *North*, that We might fall in with *Wardhouse*, as We had before agreed to do, in Case We should part Company. After having run *North-East*, and by *North*, and *North-East*, about fifty Leagues, We sounded, and found a hundred, and sixty Fathom, by which We imagined We were far from Land, and found that there was a Mistake in the common Way of marking the Land on the Globe.

The eighth, the Wind being very high at *West-North-West*, and We, being ignorant how the Coast bore, struck our Sails, and, lying adrift, sounded again ; But found the same Depth of Water, as before.

The ninth, the Wind veering to *South-South-East*, We sailed *North-East*, five and twenty Leagues.

The tenth, We sounded, but could get no Ground, neither could We see any Land, at which We wonder-

ed,

ed. The Wind then coming to the *North-East*, We run *South-East*, about eight and forty Leagues.

The eleventh, the Wind being at *South*, We sounded, and found forty Fathom, and fair Sand.

The twelfth, the Wind being at *South*, and by *East*, We lay with our Sails *East*, and *East*, and by *North*, thirty Leagues.

The fourteenth, early in the Morning, We perceived Land, with which We bore in, and hoisted out our Boat to discover what Land it was: But the Water was so shallow, that the Boat could not come to Land; And very much Ice, but no Appearance of any Habitation. This Land (e) lies *East*, and *North*, from the Coast of *Seynham*, about one hundred, and sixty Leagues, in the Latitude of seventy-two Degrees.

The fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, We plied to the *Northward*.

The eighteenth, the Wind coming to the *North-East*, and the *Confidenza* being troubled with Bilge-water, and stocked, We thought it necessary to seek a Harbour for her Relief. Therefore, We bore Room, *South-South-East*, about seventy Leagues.

The twenty-first, We sounded, and found ten Fathom; after that, We sounded again, and found but seven Fathom, and the Water yet shoaling, though We could see no Land, which seemed very strange to us. Therefore to avoid Danger, We bore roomer into the Sea, all that Night, *North-West*, and by *West*.

The next Day, We sounded, and had twenty Fathom, then shaped our Course and run *West-South-West*, until the twenty-third. We then perceived a low Land, to which We bore as nigh as We could, and it seemed to us to be uninhabited. We then plied to

(e) It was then, called *Willoughby Land*, and is, now, *Greenland*.

to the *Westward*, along by that Land, which lies *West-South-West*, and *East-North-East*; But the Wind blowing hard at the *West*, We haled into the Sea, *North*, and by *East*, thirty Leagues. The Wind then coming about to the *North-East*, We sailed *West-North-West*. After that, the Wind bearing to the *North-West*, We lay with our Sails *West-South-West*, about fourteen Leagues, and then descried Land, and bore in with it, being the eight, and twentieth. We found shoal Water, and bore in, until We came to three Fathom, and then perceiving it to continue shoal Water, and seeing dry Sands, We haled out again, *North-East*, along that Land, until We came to the Point of it. The Land then turning to the *Westward*, We run along sixteen Leagues, *North-West*; then coming into a fair Bay, We went ashore with our Boat. The Place was uninhabited; but yet appeared unto us as if People had been there, by Crosses, and other Signs We saw. From thence We went all along the Coast, *Westward*.

The fourth of September, We lost Sight of Land, by Reason of contrary Winds, and the eighth, We saw Land again. Within two Days, We lost Sight of it; Then, running, *West* and by *South*, about thirty Leagues, We got Sight of Land again, and bore in with it until Night; but then, perceiving it to be a Lee-shore, We got to Sea again.

The twelfth, We haled towards Shore again, having then tolerable Wind, and Weather: Being near in with the Shore, and the Tide almost spent, We came to Anchor, in thirty Fathom Water.

The thirteenth, We came along the Coast, which lay *North-West*, and by *West*, and *South-East*, and by *East*.

The Fourteenth, We came to Anchor, within two Leagues of the Shore, having sixty Fathom. There, We

We went ashore with our Boat, and found two, or three good Harbours, the Land being rocky, and high; But People We saw none.

The fifteenth, We run still along the Coast, until the seventeenth. Then, the Wind being contrary, We thought it most advisable, to return to the Harbour which We had before found, and, therefore, bore roomer with it; We could not, however, reach it that Day.

The next Day, being the eighteenth, We entered into the Haven, and came to an Anchor there, at six Fathom. This Haven runs into the Main, about two Leagues, and is, in Breadth, half a League. We saw a great many Seals, and other large Fishes; And, upon the Land, Bears, large Deer, Foxes, and several strange Beasts, to us unknown. After remaining in this Haven about a Week, considering the Year was far spent, and very bad Weather, with Frost, Snow and Hail, as if it had been in the Depth of Winter, We began to think it would be the best to winter here. We, therefore, sent three of our Men *South-South-West*, in Search of Inhabitants; They went three Days Journey, *Westward*, but they, likewise returned, without having seen any human Creature. We then sent three Men, *South-East*; three Days Journey; who returned, in the same Manner, without having discovered any Appearance of a Habitation.

At this Period, on the eighteenth of September, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three, the Journal of Sir *Hugh Willoughby* abruptly breaks off. That he was alive, in the Month of January, of the following Year, together with most of his Company, is evident from his Hand writing affixed to the last Testament of his Kinsman *Gabriel Willoughby*. Of the Time, and Manner of their Deaths, We have

have no Account which can absolutely be relied on; but as their Bodies were found, in the following Spring, by some *Russian* Fishermen, who visited that Coast, entirely frozen, it is probable that their Ships were inclosed within the Ice, and that all the Crew perished by the Cold, near the Haven of *Arzina* in *Lapland*. The indefatigable Compiler of a voluminous Collection of Voyages, observes, in his Introduction, that Sir *Hugh Willoughby* lost the Company both of the *Edward Bonaventure*, and of the *Confidenza*. It is, however, reasonable to conclude that as Sir *Hugh* mentions his having joined the Latter, on the Morning after his Separation from the *Bonaventure*, and, as no farther Account is given of Her, that She shared the same Fate with the *Bona Esperanza*.

Thus, probably, perished a Commander, of whom contemporary Writers have observed that He was less illustrious by his noble Descent, than by his Abilities, Experience, and Intrepidity. It hath been remarked by some Authors who have treated of this Voyage, in general Terms, that he sailed with his two Ships far to the North, and discovered that Part of *Greenland*, which the *Dutch* have since distinguished by the Name of *Spitzberg*; but that the Severity of the Cold obliged Him to turn again to the Southward; and that He was driven by bad Weather, into the Harbour of *Arzina*.

We, now, return to Captain *Richard Chancellor*, who (as hath already been observed,) was separated from Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, in a Storm, during the Night of the second of August. Pursuant to a Promise, in Case of Parting, He steered his Course for *Wardhouse*, in *Norway*. Here, He waited eleven Days, expecting, but in vain, the Arrival of Sir *Hugh*, when, believing it unnecessary to stay longer, He prepared to proceed alone on his intended Voyage. Some Natives of

of *Scotland*, then in *Norway*, attempted to dissuade Him from an Enterprize which They represented as beset with Dangers, and not the least likely to prove equal to his Hopes. All Arguments were unavailing; and He departed, with his Associates, who, unanimously expressed their Determination to share his Fate (f).

In the Pursuit of his Voyage towards that unknown Part of the World, of which He was in Search, He sailed until He arrived at a Place where was no Night, and where the Sun shone continually upon the Surface of the Ocean. With the Benefit of this perpetual Light, He came, at length, into a vast Bay, which was an hundred Miles in Breadth. Having sailed far along the Shore, He gave Orders to drop the Anchor; and soon afterwards, perceiving a small fishing Vessel, at a Distance went into a Boat, and, accompanied by a Part of the Crew, rowed towards it. The Fishermen fled, but were quickly overtaken by *Chancellor*, when They prostrated Themselves before Him, and with Gestures expressive of Surprize, and Awe, continued gazing at the Ship. Pleased with the courteous Manner in which They were accosted by the *English*, They hastened, on their Recovery from their Astonishment, to the neighbouring Town, where They informed the Inhabitants of the Arrival of Strangers, whose Intentions, if Appearances might be depended on, could not be hostile.

At a second Interview, They discovered that the Country was called *Russia*, or *Muscovy*, and governed by the Great Duke, *Juan Basilwich. Chancellor*, now, in-

(f) These, and the following Particulars are taken from the Latin of *Clement Adams*, who wrote what *Chancellor* dictated.—See *Hackluyt*, Part 1. p. 246.—*Lediard's Naval History*. V. 1. Folio, p. 122.

informed the Natives that He, and his Associates, were Servants of the King of *England*, who had sent Them to deliver Presents to their Emperor, and to traffic in Amity, with his Subjects. He concluded his Address to Them, with Offers of Money, and desired that, in Return, He might be supplied with Provisions, and other Necessaries. In Consequence of this Request, the Governor, together with several of his Officers, ventured on board the Ship, where, after some Hesitation, He promised to satisfy the immediate Wants of the Captain and his Crew; but declined all Overtures of Commerce, until He should be made acquainted with the Will, and Pleasure of the Great Duke.

The Governor, who had immediately dispatched a Messenger to Court, with the News of the Arrival of the *English*, was too prudent to inform *Chancellor*, who waited, with Impatience, for the royal Permission to engage in Traffic, that the Residence of the Emperor was at the Distance of fifteen hundred Miles. When some Weeks had elapsed, the Governor judged it necessary to be more explicit, and account for those Delays of which the Captain so frequently complained. This Discovery, far from depressing the Spirits of the Latter, served only to render Him more eager in his Pursuits; and He resolved to set forward on the Journey, without waiting any longer for an Answer. By the Way, He met the Courier, who delivered to Him a Letter from the Court, to which He was invited to repair, instantly, with his Associates. He, therefore, proceeded on the Road to *Moscow*, the Capital of the Empire, and the Abode of its Prince.

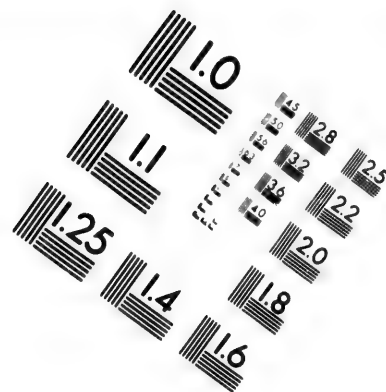
A farther Account of the Enterprizes of this celebrated Adventurer, who first, discovered the Passage to *Archangel*, and settled a Trade between *England*, and that Country, must lead us to the Transactions under the

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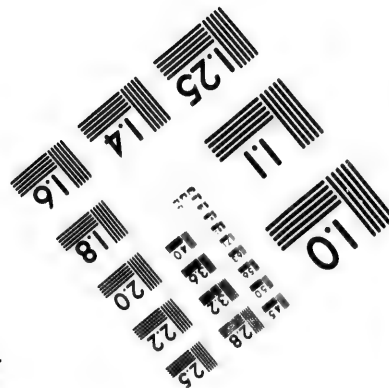
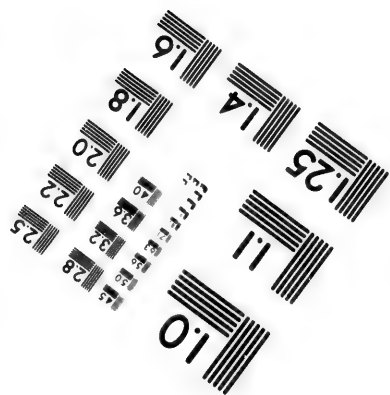
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the Reign of *Mary*. But We trust that the Reader will excuse us for having trespassed on chronological Regularity, to avoid an Interruption of the Subject which is, now, before Him. Let us observe, therefore, that in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three, when that Princess ascended to the Throne, Captain *Chancellor* had arrived at *Moscow*, where, after a Residence of twelve Days, He was admitted, at a full, and splendid Court, to an Audience of the Emperor, by whom He was graciously received, Having presented to Him the Letters Missive, and Gifts from *Edward*, the Sixth, He was honoured with a Seat in the royal Presence, at the Time of Dinner, and, attended by his Associates, placed opposite to the Emperor. During his abode in the Capital, He was engaged in several Conferences with the chief Ministers of State. At these Interviews, He settled a Trade between *England*, and *Muscovy*, and soon afterwards repaired to *Archangel*, where his whole Company wintered, and, from whence, He returned with Them to *England*. Previous to his Departure from *Moscow*, the Emperor delivered Him a Letter for *Edward*, the Sixth, a Translation of which, together with the Answer (g), is here, inserted; and the rather, as They form the Ground-Work of that extensive, and important Commerce, which was afterwards so assiduously cultivated by the two Powers.

“ The Almighty Power of GOD, and the incom-
 “ prehensible HOLY TRINITY, rightful *Christian* Be-
 “ lief, &c. We, Great Duke, *Juan Basilwick*, by
 “ the Grace of GOD, great Lord, and Emperor of all
 “ *Russia*, &c. Before all, right, great, and worthy
 “ of

(f) Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 255.—Lediard's Naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 124.

" of Honour, *Edward*, King of *England*, &c. accord-
 " ing to our most hearty, and good Zeal, with good
 " Intent, and friendly Desire, and according to Our
 " Holy *Christian* Faith, and great Governance, and
 " being in the Light of great Understanding, Our
 " Answer, by this Our Honourable Writing, unto
 " Your Kingly Governance, at the Request of Your
 " faithful Servant *Richard Chancellor*, with his Com-
 " pany, as They shall let you wisely know, is this.
 " In the Strength of the twentieth Year of our Go-
 " vernance, be it known, that at our Sea-Coasts ar-
 " rived a Ship, with one *Richard*, and his Company,
 " and said, that He was desirous of coming into Our
 " Dominions, and according to his Request, hath seen
 " Our Majesty, and been in Our Presence: And hath
 " declared unto Us Your Majesty's Desire, as that We
 " should grant unto Your Subjects, to go, and come,
 " and in Our Dominions, and among Our Subjects,
 " to frequent free Marts, with all Sorts of Merchan-
 " dizes, and upon the same to have Wares for their
 " Return. And they have also delivered Us Your Let-
 " ters, which declare, the same Request. And, here-
 " upon, We have given Order, that wheresoever Your
 " faithful Servant, *Hugh Willoughby*, shall land, or
 " touch, in Our Dominions, to be well entertained,
 " who as yet is not arrived, as Your Servant *Richard*
 " can declare.

" And We, with Christian Belief, and Faithfulness,
 " and according to Your honourable Request, and my
 " honourable Command, will not leave it undone:
 " And are furthermore willing, that You send unto
 " Us Your Ships, and Vessels, when, and as often,
 " as they may have Passage, with good Assurance, on
 " Our Part, to see them harmless. And if You send
 " one of Your Majesty's Council, to treat with Us,
 " where-

Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY, &c. 95

" whereby Your Country Merchants may, with all
" Kinds of Wares, and where They will, make their
" Market in Our Dominions, They shall have their
" free Mart, with all free Liberties, through Our
" whole Territories, with all Kinds of Wares, to come,
" and go, at their Pleasure, without any Let, Damage,
" or Impediment, according to this Our Letter, Our
" Word, and Our Seal, which We have commanded
" to be undersealed. Written in our Dominion, in
" Our City, and Our Palace, in the Castle of *Moscow*,
" in the Year, seven Thousand, and Sixty, the second
" Month of February."

Exclusive of this Letter of Assurance of Amity, the
Emperor granted Patents to the *English*, by which They
enjoyed a Freedom of Commerce, throughout all his
Dominions. Their Privileges were shortly afterwards
considerably augmented.

Captain *Chancellor*, who did not return to *England*,
until after the Death of *Edward*, the Sixth, took the
earliest Opportunity of delivering his Letters, and the
Account of his Voyage, to *Queen Mary*. She was too
sensible of the Advantages which were likely to result
from the Success of such Enterprizes to neglect the ne-
cessary Preparations for renewing Them. Accord-
ingly, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and
Fifty-five, *Chancellor* was ordered to make a second
Voyage, to *Archangel*. On this Occasion, He was in-
trusted with a Letter from *Philip*, and *Mary*, to the
Emperor of *Russia*, (in Answer to that written by Him
to *Edward*, the Sixth,) of which the following is a
Translation.

" PHILIP and MARY, by the Grace of God,
" King, and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, *Jeru-*
" *salem*,

" *salem*, and, *Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith, &c. To
 " the right High, right Mighty, and right Excellent
 " Prince, *Juan Basiliwick*, Emperour of all *Russia*, &c.
 " Greeting. Whereas, by the Consent, and Licence
 " of our most dear, and entirely beloved late Brother,
 " King *Edward VI.* whose Soul God pardon, fundry
 " of Our Subjects, Merchants of the City of *London*,
 " within this Our Realm of *England*, did, at their own
 " proper Costs, and Adventure, furnish three Ships to
 " discover, search, and find Lands, Islands, Regions,
 " and Territories, before this Adventure not known,
 " nor commonly haunted, and frequented by Seas.
 " The one of the which three Ships, named the *Ed-*
 " *ward Bonaventure* (whereof Our right well-beloved
 " *Richard Chancellor* was then Governor, and chief
 " Captain) chanced, by the Grace of God, and the
 " good Conduct of the said *Chancellor*, to arrive, and
 " winter in the North Part of Your Empire of *Russia*.
 " Forasmuch as We be credibly informed, by the Re-
 " port of Our trusty, and well-beloved Subject, that
 " Your Majesty did not only call Him, and certain of
 " his Company, to Your Imperial Presence, and Speech,
 " entertained, and banqueted Them, with all Huma-
 " nity, and Gentleness: But also, being thereunto re-
 " quested, partly by the Letters of Our said Brother,
 " and partly by the said *Richard Chancellor*, have, by
 " Your Letters Patents, under Your Seal, among other
 " Things, granted: That all such Merchants, as
 " shall come out of any of Our Realms of *England*, or
 " *Ireland*, with all Manner of Wares, if They will
 " travel, or trade within Your Dominions, the said
 " Merchants, with their Merchandizes, in all Your
 " Lordships, may freely, and at their Liberty, travel
 " out, and in, without Hindrance, or any Manner of
 " Loss. And, of Your farther ample Goodness, have
 " promised,

" promised, that Our Ambassadors, if We send any,
 " shall, with free good Will, pass to, and from You,
 " without any Hindrance, or Loss, with such Mes-
 " sage as shall come unto You, and to return the same
 " to Our Kingdoms, well answered, as by the same
 " Your Letters, written in Your Dominion, Palace,
 " and Castle of *Moscow*, in the Year, seven Thousand
 " and Sixty, the Month of February, more at large
 " appeareth. Like as We cannot but much commend
 " Your Princely Favour, and Goodness, and, in like
 " Manner, thank You for the abundant Grace, ex-
 " tended to the said *Richard Chancellor*, and Others,
 " Our Subjects, Merchants: Even so These are to
 " pray, and request You, to continue the same Bene-
 " volence towards Them, and other Our Merchants,
 " and Subjects, which do, or shall hereafter resort to
 " your Country. And for the more Assurance, and
 " Encouragement to trade, and exercise the Feat of
 " Merchandize, with Your Subjects, and all other
 " Merchants within Your Dominions, that it may
 " please You, at this Our Contemplation, to assign,
 " and authorize such Commissaries, as You shall think
 " meet, to trade, and confer, with Our well beloved
 " Subjects, and Merchants, the said *Richard Chancellor*,
 " *George Killingworth*, and *Richard Gray*, Bearers of
 " these Our Letters, who are by Us authorized for
 " that Purpose: And to confirm, and grant such other
 " Liberties, and Privileges, under the Governor, Con-
 " suls, Assistants, and Commonalty of the Fellowship
 " of the said Merchants, as the said Bearers, in their
 " Name, propone and require by You to be granted,
 " for their safe Conduct, good Government, and Or-
 " der, to be erected, and continued among Them, in
 " your said Dominions; And this with such Your
 " Clemency, and Expedition, as We, upon the next
 " VOL. II. H " Ar-

"Arrival of the said *Richard Chancellor*, may be informed of Your Gracious Disposition, and Answer.
 "Which Your Benevolence, so to be extended, We be minded to requite, towards any of Your Subjects, Merchants, that shall frequent this Our Realm, at Your Contemplation, therefore to be made. Thus
 "Right High, Right Excellent, and Right Mighty, ALMIGHTY GOD, the FATHER, the SON, and the HOLY GHOST, have you in his blessed Keeping.
 "Given under Our Seal, at Our Palace of *Westminster*, the first of April, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-five, and in the first, and second Years of Our Reigns."

On the sixth of February, in the same Year, and previous to the Writing of the foregoing Letter, the *Merchant-Adventurers* for these Discoveries, who had before formed Themselves into a Society, were regularly incorporated by a Charter, granted by the King, and Queen. They are mentioned to have been established as a Body for "the Discovery of Lands, Territories, Isles, Dominions, and Seignories unknowns which They should chance to find, or discover, in their Sailing, *Northwards*, *North-Eastwards*, and *North-Westwards*, or any Parts thereof, in that Course which other Christian Monarchs, in Alliance, and Amity with *England*, had not before frequented."

By this Charter, *Sebastian Cabot* was appointed Governor of the incorporated Company, for Life, a Provision being made that, after his Decease, the Governors should be elected, annually. A Court of Directors was, likewise, nominated in the Charter, consisting of twenty-eight eminent Merchants, four of whom were named Consuls, and the Rest, Assistants. These were appointed only for one Year, and a power was vested in the Company to proceed to the Choice of the

like

like Number, annually. The farther Limitations, and exclusive Privileges granted in the Charter, may be seen in *Hackluyt* (g).

At the same Time the Company declared *Richard Gray*, and *George Killingworth*, to be their joint, and separate Agents, Factors, and Attornies general, and special, in *Russia*, furnishing Them with ample Instructions relative to Commerce, and other Negotiations in which They might, probably, be concerned. To Captain *Chancellor*, They gave the Title, and Commission of *Grand Pilot* of the Fleet (h).

We cannot exactly ascertain the Number of Ships which were fitted out, for this Enterprize, or the Time of their Departure. The Instructions mention only the *Edward*, and the *Philip*, and *Mary*, concerning the Destination, and Return of which, Orders are given to the Factors. In the Letter from Mr. *George Killingworth*, to the Society (i), no Manner of Notice is taken of the outward-bound Voyage, and it is only observed that the Ships arrived, on the eleventh of September, at *Vologda*, from whence *Chancellor*, and some of his Associates proceeded to *Moscow*, which They reached on the fourth of October following. Their Reception at Court was not less gracious than before. The Remainder of the Letter contains several Circumstances respecting the Establishment of the *English* Trade, and Factories. At the Bottom, *Hackluyt* hath subjoined a Copy of the first Privileges granted by the Emperor of *Russia*, to the *English* Merchants, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-five. These Privileges were granted to *Sebastian Cabot*, Governor, Sir *George Barnes*, Consul; Sir *John*

H 2

Gresham,

(g) Vol. I. p. 267.

(h) Ibid.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. Folio, p. 125.

(i) Hackluyt, V. 1. p. 267.

Gresham, and Others, Assistants, and to the Commonalty of the Society of *Merchant-Adventurers*, and their respective Heirs, for ever. The Articles are much too numerous to be inserted here. When, and in what Manner, *Chancellor* returned from this second Voyage, is not mentioned. We may however, venture to fix it, in the same Year, since in the next, He proceeded on his third Voyage to *Archangel*.

Chancellor, designing to return to *England*, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-six, departed from *Russia*, having on Board, *Osep Napa*, the chief Officer of the Town, and Country of *Vologda*, and, on this Occasion, Ambassador from the Emperor, who sent splendid Presents to the Queen, and a full Invitation to her Subjects to establish a Trade in his Dominions. *Osep* embarked in the Bay of Saint Nicholas, together with Captain *Chancellor*, and sixteen Russian Attendants, on the twentieth of July, in the *Edward-Bonaventure*, freighted with Wax, Train Oil, Tallow, Furs, Felts, Yarn, and other Commodities, to the Value of twenty thousand Pounds, and accompanied by the *Philip* and *Mary*; the *Bona Esperanza*, and the *Confidenza*, three Ships belonging to the Corporation of *Merchant-Adventurers*. Perhaps, the two Last were Those in which the unfortunate Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, and his Associates, were frozen to Death.

During the Voyage, the Fleet was separated by a Storm, when the *Confidenza*, and the *Bona Esperanza* were driven on the Coast of *Norway*. The Former was dashed to Pieces on a Rock, near to which the Latter (for some Time, supposed to have wintered in that Quarter,) was, also, lost. The *Philip*, and *Mary* arrived in the *Thames*, on the eighteenth of the Month of April, in the following Year. The *Edward Bonaventura* continued beating out at Sea, during four Months, and,

and, on the tenth of November, approached the Coast of *Scotland*. A Tempest arising in *Pitfigo Bay*, the Ship parted from her Anchors, and bilged upon a Rock. *Chancellor*, less anxious to save his own Life, than to preserve the Ambassador, and his Attendants, assisted Them to enter the Boat, and only followed as the Last. Unable to reach the Shore, They were exposed to the Violence of the Waves, which, filling the Boat, already overladen, occasioned it to sink. The Ambassador, and three, or four *Russians* very narrowly escaped the Fate of Captain *Chancellor*, who, with the Rest, and Several of the *English* Mariners, was drowned. The Ship, the whole Cargo, and the Presents from the Emperor were either lost in the Sea, or ransacked by the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Coast of *Norway*.

On the first Notice of this Misfortune, at *London*, the *Merchant-Adventurers* deputed two of their Body to wait on the Ambassador, who, after having encountered many Difficulties, and incurred a great, but ineffectual Expence, for the Recovery of his Effects, arrived, on the tenth of February, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-seven, at *Berwick*, and, on the twenty-sixth, within twelve Miles of the Metropolis. He was, there, received, and conducted on his Way, by eighty of the *Merchant-Adventurers*, magnificently apparelled, and bearing Chains of Gold about their Necks. This Number was afterwards increased by Others equally splendid in their Appearance. Not to enter into a minute Description of the Pageantries exhibited on this Occasion, let it be sufficient to remark that *Osep* successfully concluded his commercial Negotiations with the Court of *England*, and, on the third of May, in the same Year, having received from the Queen, Letters, and Presents for his

Sovereign, embarked on Board the *Primrose*, one of the four Ships appointed to attend Him to *Muscovy* (k).

(k) Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 285. &c.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. Folio, p. 127, 128.

MEMOIRS

&c.
Primrose, one of
to Muscovy (k).
Lediard's Naval

M E M O I R S

O F

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS
TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of MARY,
the FIRST.

E DWARD, the Sixth, towards the Close of
his Reign, and when his Disorder was attend-
ed with alarming Symptoms, had been seduced, by
the Artifices of the Duke of Northumberland, to con-
sent to the Exclusion of the Princess Mary, and Eli-
zabeth, and to sign the Patent for the Settlement of the
Crown, on his Cousin, the Lady Jane Grey, Wife to
the Lord, Guildford Dudley. The Duke, who had
every Reason to dread an Opposition, judged it neces-
sary to conceal the Death of Edward, until He might
be more prepared for the Execution of his Designs;
and, therefore did not immediately inform the Citizens
that the Throne was vacant. At length, on the eighth
of July, He sent for the Lord-Mayor of London, and
directed Him to come attended by six Aldermen, six
Merchants of the Staple, and six Merchant-Adventurers,

who, after having been made acquainted with the Demise of the King, and his Destination of the Crown, were required to keep these Circumstances secret, during two Days, and then proclaim the Lady *Jane*, Queen of England-(a). In making Mention of this Application of *Northumberland*, and his Adherents in the Council, to the trading Corporations, We have followed a naval Writer; and for his own Reason; to prove how highly the Persons engaged in Commerce were, at this Period, respected (b).

The Duke of *Northumberland*, amongst other Precautions, had stationed a Squadron of six Ships, near the Port of *Tarmouth*, in Order to prevent *Mary* from escaping to any foreign Power. Immediately on their Appearance, Sir *Henry Fernegan* put off to Sea, in an open Boat, and easily induced the Officers, and Mariners, to declare against the Lady *Jane Grey*, who would not, perhaps, have been so formidably opposed, if *Northumberland* had been less an Object of the national Detestation; and whose Offence (as She observed upon the Scaffold,) was not a violent Seizure of the Crown, but a Want of Resolution to decline it: a Conduct which resulted from a mistaken Reverence to her Parents, and by which She was made an unwilling Instrument of the ambitious Views of others. This Defection of the Fleet was followed by the Desertion of the Army, and even *Northumberland*, despairing of Success, obeyed the Orders which He received to lay down his Arms, and, with every pretended Mark of Joy, meanly proclaimed the Queen whom He had opposed,

(a) Life of *Mary*, written by *Perrars*, and printed in *Grafton's Chronicle*, p. 1324, 1325.—*Stowe*, p. 609, 610.—*Speed*, p. 812, 815.—Collection of Records to *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, V. 2. p. 239.

(b) *Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 424.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 105

posed. When taken into Custody, by the Earl of *Arundel*, his Conduct was still more abject; He fell on his Knees, and bursting into Tears, implored that Lord to use his Interest for the Preservation of his Life. On his Commitment to the Tower, (before, the Court, but, now, the Prison of the Lady *Jane*,) all his former Adherents submitted to the Mercy of the new Queen, who, thus, without the least Effusion of Blood, was quietly settled in the Throne (c).

The first naval Equipment in the Course of this Reign was intrusted to Commodore *Winter*, who received Orders to sail for *Ostend*, and bring over to *England*, the Ambassadors appointed by *Charles*, the Fifth, to conclude the Match betwixt his Son *Philip*, and Queen *Mary* (d). It would be foreign to our Purpose to enlarge on the Sentiments of the Nation, in Respect to this unhappy Union of their Sovereign with the House of *Austria*. Suffice it to observe that, although the Parliament could not refuse to ratify the Articles of the Marriage (e), which were rendered as advantageous as possible to the *English*, yet They firmly, and effectually opposed the Institution of a Law, recommended by *Gardiner*, the Chancellor, and calculated to invest the Queen with a Power of disposing of the Crown, and of appointing her Successor (f). They would not even declare that it was Treason, either to imagine, or attempt the Death of the Husband of *Mary*, during her Life-Time; and, by a great Majority,

(c) Stowe, p. 611, 612.—Heylin, p. 167.—Fox, V. 3. p. 36, 37.—Burnet, V. 2. p. 238.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 1087.—Speed, p. 817.—Godwin, p. 268, 271.—Haynes's State Papers, p. 156.

(d) Holingshed, V. 2. p. 1106.—Strype's Memorials, V. 3. p. 31, 32, 33.

(e) 1 Mar. Parl. 2. Cap. 2.

(f) Depeches de Noailles, V. 3.

majority, threw out, after the first Reading, a Bill for the Establishment of such a Law. Not satisfied with having barely adopted so salutary a Measure, They proceeded still farther, and passed an Act, in which it was asserted that "her Majesty, as their only Queen, should solely, and as a sole Queen, enjoy the Crown, and Sovereignty of her Realms, with all the Pre-eminences, Dignities, and Rights thereto belonging, in as large and ample a Manner, after her Marriage, as before, without any Title, or Claim accruing to the Prince of Spain, either as Tenant, by Courtesy of the Realm, or by any other Means (g)."

When Mr. Winter arrived at *Ofend*, the Emperor, Charles, the Fifth, sent Him a valuable Chain, and desired Him to wear it, as a Mark of his Esteem. At his Return to England, He shewed this insidious Present to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who observed that for so contemptible a Bauble, He had betrayed, and sold his Country: A Freedom which had nearly proved fatal to Both. The Latter was shortly afterwards accused, and tried, as an Accomplice in a Conspiracy. The Jury who acquitted Him, for want of Evidence to justify a Condemnation, were unmercifully fined. The dreadful Effects of this Rigour extended to the Life of Sir John Throckmorton, who was capitally convicted by the same Jury, on that very Testimony, which was not sufficiently valid to criminate his Brother (h).

Although the Ambassadors had on their Arrival, been received by the People with Disgust, and Sir Thomas Wyatt, availing Himself of those Murmurs which

(g) 1 Mar. Parl. 2. Cap. 3.

(h) Holingshed, p. 1104.—Burnet, V. 3.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 426.

which the intended Marriage had excited, began that Rebellion, or rather patriotic Resistance which first endangered the Queen's Safety, and, at length, brought Him to the Block (i), yet *Mary*, inattentive either to the Interests, or the Tranquility of the Kingdom, and eager for the Consummation of her Nuptials with *Don Philip*, had directed a Fleet to be equipped in Order to convoy that Prince from *Spain*, where He then resided. The Command of this Armament was given to the Lord *William Howard*, who, in the first Year of her Reign (k), had been created Baron of *Effingham*, and High Admiral of *England*, and was, now, by an especial Commission (l), constituted Lieutenant-General, and Commander in Chief of her Land-Forces. When this Lord informed Her that the Seamen, who unanimously inveighed against her Union with the Prince of *Spain*, were not in a Temper to be trusted with an Opportunity of attacking Him, She directed that the Fleet should be dismissed (m). No sooner was this Order carried into Execution than her Mind became tortured by perpetual Apprehensions for the Safety of her Husband, whom She considered as likely to be intercepted by the naval Armaments of the *French*, at that Juncture, Masters of the Sea. It hath been observed that at every Report of Danger, or Violence of the Wind, She fell into Convulsions. Her Peevishness, and Impatience had not only consumed her Health, but weakened her Understanding; and She dreaded, lest her person, at once the Prey of Sickness, and of Time, should raise the Aversion of her intended Consort. She felt, with the most afflicting Uneasiness,

(i) Stowe.—Burnet.—Strype.

(k) Pat. I. M. p. 7.

(l) Rymer's *Fœdera*, Tom. XV. p. 382.

(m) *Depeches de Noailles*, V. 3. p. 220.

ness, that the inconsiderable Charms with which Nature had adorned Her, were already hastening to Decay; and scarcely knew, amidst the Suspence of Hope, and Fear, whether to enjoy, or tremble at the Thought of an approaching Interview with *Philip* (a).

When the *Spanish* Prince was informed that all Obstacles to the Marriage were surmounted, He departed on the sixteenth of July, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-four, from the *Croyns*, under Convoy of a Fleet amounting to one hundred, and sixty Sail (b), and attended by *John*, Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Fitz-Walters*, and several Noblemen of *England* (c). When this Armament entered the narrow *Seas*, the *Spanish* Admiral, with his Flag flying in the Main-Top, would have passed the Fleet, commanded by Lord *Effingham-Howard*, without paying the customary Honours; but that gallant Officer, not repressed by the Consideration that *Philip* was on Board, fired at the Ship, and forced the whole *Spanish* Navy to make in their Colours, and lower their Top-sails, in Reverence to the *English* Squadron, before He would permit the Latter to salute the Prince (d). Justly hath a naval Writer (e) called this an Action not alone worthy of Imitation, but of immortal Remembrance.

On the nineteenth of July, *Philip* arrived at *Southampton* (f). His Haughtiness, Reserve, and a particular Mode of Conduct, equally mysterious, and ridiculous,

(a) *Depeches de Noailles*, V. 1. p. 222, 232, 253.—*Hume's History of England*, V. 4. 8vo. p. 398.

(b) *Godwin*, p. 345.

(c) *Holingshed*, p. 1118.

(d) *Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts*, p. 225.—*Holingshed*, V. 2. p. 1118.—*Speed*, p. 824.

(e) *Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 426.

(f) *Fox*, V. 3. p. 99.—*Heylin*, p. 39.—*Burnet*, V. 3. p. 392.—*Godwin*, p. 345.

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lous, served rather to augment, than to diminish the Contempt, and Indignation conceived against Him, by the *English*. At his Landing, He drew his Sword, and, for some Time, carried it naked in his Hand. The Majority of the Spectators regarded it as a Sign of his Intention to govern the Kingdom by the Sword. To the Salutes of the Nobility, He made no Return; and when the Magistrates of *Southampton* presented Him with the Keys of the Town, He received, and gave them back, without uttering a Syllable. As on the first Day, so during his Residence in *England*, was He forbidding, and severe, absurdly keeping at a Distance, a People who had never, even in the most arbitrary Reigns, been unaccustomed to the Affability of their Sovereigns (t).

From *Southampton*, Philip proceeded to *Winchester*, where, on the twenty-fifth of July, being the Festival of *James*, the tutelary Saint of *Spain*, He was wedded to *Mary*, and Both were, on the same Day, proclaimed King, and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Naples*, and *Jerusalem* (u). Soon afterwards, They entered *London*, with great Pomp, and in Order to captivate the People by an ostentatious Display of the Riches acquired by this Union, twenty-seven Chests, together with ninety-nine Horse-Loads, and two Carts full of Bullion, were driven to the Tower, along the public Streets (x). Yet the Nation continued to murmur at the Celebration of their Nuptials, and carried their Discontents to such Extremes, that the Queen was never at Ease during the Remainder of her Life.

Some

(t) Baker, p. 340.—Stowe, p. 624.

(u) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 15. p. 404.—Grafton, p. 1343.—Holinshed, V. 2. p. 1118.—Cooper, Folio 366.—Ferrer's *Hist. de España*, p. 13. Sect. 16.—M. Turquet, Liv. 28. p. 1340, 1341.

(x) Burnet, V. 2. p. 286.—August 12.

Some unavailing Methods were recurred to, that the People might be pacified; and, in particular, the *Spanish* Artisans were forbidden to open Shops in *London*, whilst severe Justice was inflicted on Several who, in Repentment of Affronts, had murdered many of the *English* (y).

The Jealousy of the Nation arose still higher, and even the Queen expressed her Discontent when the Emperor, *Charles*, the Fifth, resigned the Crown of *Spain* to *Philip* (z). They plainly foresaw that this Acquisition would prove the Means of detaining Him continually abroad; a Circumstance which might be followed by the most fatal Consequences to the Affairs of *England*, whensoever the Council should plead the Want of his Presence, as a Motive for not entering into Consultations where his Advice was requisite (a). When the Emperor, soon after his Resignation, was on his Passage from *Flanders*, to *Spain*, He put into an *English* Harbour, where He was received, with great Respect, by the Lord High Admiral, who, yet, could not persuade Him to visit the Queen, his Daughter. To apologize for this Neglect. He wrote Her a long Letter; but in Terms so ambiguous, and confused, that the Uneasiness of his Mind was discernible in every Sentence. This Letter bears Date on the twentieth of September, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-six, and seems to have been chiefly intended to palliate the Absence of his Son (b).

At

(y) Stowe's Annals, p. 625.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 427.

(z) A. D. 1556.

(a) This grievance is strongly stated in the Minute of an Order, made by *Elizabeth*, in Council, on her Accession to the Throne.—Diary of Sir William Cecil, (Lord Burleigh,) Cotton Library. Titus, C. 10.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 428.

(b) Strype's Memorials, V. 3. p. 307.

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At this Period, the Court of *England* was informed that some insidious Preparations were on Foot, in Order to wrest from *Mary* her Territories in *France*. These Places were equally the Objects of the Attention of the two Nations. The Government of *Calais*, and its Dependencies constituted the most profitable Employment in the Gift of the Crown. Whilst it remained annexed to *England*, most of its Inhabitants were Natives of that Kingdom. It was governed, amongst Others, by a Mayor, and Aldermen, together with a Mayor of the Staple. Children born within it were not reputed Aliens; and the Persons who resided in it became so rich that They excited the Envy of their Fellow-Subjects, at Home, notwithstanding that all their opulent Acquisitions centered in the Mother-Country (c). As a Staple, *Calais* was particularly serviceable; and, thither, the foreign Merchants resorted to purchase *English* Commodities, which were, annually, vended to a great Amount. Of still greater Consequence was it esteemed, as being, with *Dover*, one of the Keys to the Channel. The *French*, again, considered this Fortrefs as a Bridle in their Mouths; an Opening at which the *English* could enter their Kingdom, at Pleasure; and a standing Monument of former Victories (d). On all these Accounts, They were engaged in Peace, as well as War, in concerting Plans for the Recovery of *Calais*, and its District, whilst every Overture relating to the Enterprize was graciously received (e).

The

(c) Cotton's Records, p. 140, 172, 309, &c.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 428.

(d) Ibid.—Du Tillet. Chroniques abregés des Rois de France, p. 106, 107.—A. du Chesne Antiquitez des Villes de toute la France, p. 467.—Scipio du Pleix. Histoire de France, Tom. III. p. 577.

(e) Ibid.

The Military Operations of the Duke of Guise, during the Attack on Calais, originated from a Plan discovered amongst the Papers of the Admiral Coligny, who was taken Prisoner, at the Battle of Saint Quintin. Yet, We must observe, with an indefatigable Writer (f), that the principal Instrument, employed previous to this Enterprize, hath escaped the Notice of most of our Historians. Jean de Fontenay, Sieur de Britteville, by Birth, a Norman, fled, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Forty-five, for Refuge, into Calais, immediately after having murdered the Advocate of the King of France, and was generously protected by the Governor. Availing Himself of the Opportunities of examining the Situation of the Place, He secretly drew up a Plan of Measures for surprizing it. This, He contrived to send to Francis, the First, who gave Orders that He should be corresponded with, and, at length, obtained from Him such Informations as, afterwards, enabled the French to complete the Recovery of the Fortrefs. As a Recompence for this Service, Henry, the Second, presented Him, not only with Letters of Abolition, but with three thousand Crowns to pay off the *Intérêts-civiles* (of the same Nature with the Appeal, in England,) brought by the Children of the Person whom He had assassinated. The Truth, therefore, of this Fact, is indisputable (g).

The Queen, and her Council, had been informed by Philip, that the French were accelerating their Preparations for the Attack on Calais, and, at the same Time, invited to accept from Him of a Reinforcement for its Defence (h). This Offer was, perhaps imprudently, refused, from an Apprehension that a Spanish Army would

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 429.

(g) Antiquitez de Caen, p. 95.

(h) Grafton's Chronicle, p. 1352.

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would seize the Fortress, for their Sovereign. Yet, with more Justice, may We venture to blame the Conduct of the Council, when, absurdly presuming that it could not be the Intention of the *French* to invest *Calais*, They neglected to send any Troops to the Governor, Lord *Wentworth*, who repeatedly solicited for Succours, and assured Them that the whole Garrison was reduced to five hundred Men, and that only two hundred of the Inhabitants were able to bear Arms, and assist Him in the Repulse of the Besiegers (i).

The Reasons publicly assigned by the Court of *England* for the Declaration of War, although justifiable in some Respects, did not prove intirely satisfactory to the People. They perceived that the whole Tendency of this Measure was to reduce the Kingdom to a full Dependance on *Spanish* Counsels; and, perhaps, the Clamour for Peace would have been equally universal, and alarming, if the Perfidy of *Henry*, who secretly encouraged *Stafford*, and other Conspirators in their Attempt to surprize the Castle of *Scarborough*, had not furnished *Mary* with an indisputable Pretence for proceeding to Hostilities (k).

It was stipulated by the Articles of the Marriage that the Dominions of the Queen should not be engaged in War, and, particularly, with the Crown of *France*, on Account of any Disputes which might arise between the Latter, and the State of *Spain*. *Mary*, and her Council were, notwithstanding, prevailed upon to violate this Article, and betray the Interests of the Nation, when the *Spaniards* turned their Arms against the *French*. To accomplish this Measure, *Philip* waited

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I

on

(i) Stowe, p. 632.

(k) Godwin's Annals, p. 326.—Styrye's Memorials, V. 3—Chap. 44. p. 358—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 430.

on his Consort, and remained in *England*, during the greater Part of the Spring, where He concerted such Plans as, in his Opinion, would infallibly prove the Ruin of his foreign Enemies (1). War (more in Consequence of his Menaces to desert the Queen, if his Importunities should be rejected, than of any other Circumstance,) was declared against the *French*, and Preparations were immediately made for the Invasion of their Country.

At this Period, the Revenue of the Kingdom scarcely amounted to more than three hundred thousand Pounds (m). The Queen, who felt no Remorse, on Account of the enormous Loans which She had already extorted from her Subjects, had renewed her arbitrary Practices, and compelled the Citizens of *London* to furnish Her with sixty-thousand Pounds. The second Year's Subsidy granted by the Parliament was, also, levied long before the Time appointed by the Law. With these Supplies, She raised an Army consisting of ten thousand Men, (which were sent, under the Command of the Earl of *Pembroke*, into the *Low-Countries*) and fitted out a formidable Fleet. In Consequence of a Scarcity, the Prices of Provisions were extremely dear; but what *Mary*, impoverished in her Finances, was incapable of purchasing, She tyrannically stole; converting to the Uses of the Navy all the Corn which could be found either in *Norfolk*, or in *Suffolk*, without the least Indemnity to the Owners. To prevent those violent Disturbances which were likely to arise in Consequence of such Proceedings, the most powerful of the Gentry were committed to the Tower, and, lest They should be known, carried thither, (according to the *Spanish* Custom,) during the

(1) Godwin's Annals, p. 326.

(m) Rosso, Successi d'Inghilterra.

the Night, and hood-winked by their Conductors (n).

On the Return of *Philip*, into *Flanders*, He drew his Forces to the Frontiers, and, soon afterwards, the Earl of *Pembroke*, with his gallant Body of Troops, had the Honour to contribute greatly to the total Defeat of the *French* Army, before the Town of *Saint Quintin*, in the famous Battle fought there, on the seventh of July, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-seven, and, next, assisted in taking of the Town by Storm (o).

It was during this Period that the *Scots*, availing Themselves of the Absence of the *English* Troops, made frequent Irruptions, beyond the Borders, and plundered the adjacent Country. Meanwhile, the Privateers of *France* were continually hovering near the *Northern* Coast, in Readiness to intercept the Merchant-Men on their Voyages to *Iceland*. At this alarming Crisis, a Convoy amounting to twelve Ships of War, was appointed for the trading Vessels. Sir *John Clare*, the Vice-Admiral of *England*, and intrusted with the Command of the Fleet, received Orders to embrace all favourable Opportunities of committing Hostilities against the *Scots*. Accordingly, on his Arrival off *Pomona*, one of the Islands of the *Orkneys*; He disembarked the Troops (p), and immediately prepared for a Reduction of the Place. On the Day following, He was opposed by an Army of three thousand *Scots*, who gained a complete Victory, killing three of the *English* Captains, and taking Possession of all

I 2

(n) *Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials*, V. 3. p. 372.

(o) *Grafton*, p. 1352, 1353.—*Holingshed*, V. 2. p.

1134.—*Speed*, p. 829.—*Thuan. Hist. Lib.* 19. Sect. 4.

—*Mezercay*, Tom. IV. p. 705.—*P. Daniel*, Tom. VIII.

p. 189.

(p) August 12, 1557.

the Artillery. The Few who, without falling into the Hand of the Enemy, survived the Action, fled, with Precipitation, to their Boat, which, being overladen, sunk, at no considerable Distance from the Shore: an Accident fatal to the Admiral, and several of his Officers, who perished in the Sea, as They were endeavouring to swim towards their Ships. The Rest of the Fleet, intimidated by this Misfortune, returned to *England*, and left the *Scots* elated with Success, and busied in levying a vast Army, with which They threatened to invade the Kingdom, and would have executed their Designs, if the domestic Feuds which agitated their own Nation, had allowed a Moment for the Direction of their military Operations against a foreign Enemy (9).

At the Commencement of the ensuing Year, the Duke of *Guise*, an active, and intrepid Officer, whom no Difficulties could deter, made his Attack on *Calais*. As this Town was surrounded by Marshes, impassable during the Winter, except over a Dyke guarded by the two Castles of *Saint Agatha*, and *Newnam-Bridge*, the *English*, who deemed it impossible that an Endeavour to surprize it, in that Season, could prove successful, and, also, felt the Necessity of curtailing their Expenses, whilst their Finances were at the lowest Ebb, had been accustomed to dismiss the greater Part of the Garrison, at the End of Autumn, and to recall Them until the Beginning of Spring. It was the Reflection that, at this Period, the Defence of *Calais* was injudiciously trusted rather to its Situation, than its military Force, which suggested to *Guise*, the Possibility of accomplishing his Intentions. Accordingly, as the War with *Spain* was likely to give that false Appearance,

(9) Stoye's Memorials, V. 3. p. 429.—Lefebvre, Lib. 10.—Buchanan, Lib. 16.

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pearance, which was wanted, to the Measure, He drew together a large Army near the Frontiers, and, under Colour of annoying the Navigation, and Commerce of the *English*, directed a formidable Fleet to cruize within the Channel, and, afterwards, presenting Themselves before the Town of *Calais*, to attack the Fortifications from the Sea. On the first of January, the Duke of *Guise*, dividing his Army into two Bodies, commanded the First to assault *Newnam-Bridge*, and the Second to storm the *Risbank*, at the same Instant. This Enterprize, which the Fleet seconded by a violent Cannonade, was so vigorously conducted that the Castles were on the Point of being reduced, by Force, when the Lord *Wentworth*, Governor of *Calais*, directed the Troops within Them to capitulate, and retire to the Town, for the Defence of which his present Succours were insufficient. The Garrison of *Newnam-Bridge* had the good Fortune to execute his Orders; but They who had attempted to maintain the *Risbank*, could not obtain the least Compliance with their Terms, and were obliged to yield to their Assaultants, at Discretion. The Duke of *Guise*, now, attacked the Town, and so judiciously planted his Batteries against the Castle, that a great Breach was quickly opened; an Advantage of which *Andriot*, (the Brother of the Admiral *de Coligny*,) whose Soldiers had already drained the Fosse, immediately availed Himself, and proceeding to the Assault, made a Lodgment within the Castle. On the Night following, the Governor attempted, but without Success, to regain the Post. During this furious Onset, two hundred of the Garrison were slain. The Survivors composed too feeble a Body to struggle against a numerous Enemy, and, therefore, the Lord *Wentworth* desired, and obtained

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from the Duke of *Guise*, a Permission to capitulate (*r*).

Thus, in the Space of eight Days, were the *English* deprived of a Fortress almost impregnable, and which They had possessed during a Period of more than two hundred Years. What *Edward* the Third, at the Head of a formidable Army, elate with Victory, could not obtain Possession of in less than eleven Months, the *French*, immediately after that Defeat at the Battle of Saint *Quintin*, which threw the whole Kingdom into Consternation, reduced almost within the Compass of a Week. Some Historians, and, particularly, the Memoir-Writers of that *Æra*, have attributed this Misfortune to Treachery, and, hurried away by Prejudice, aspersed, with equal Severity, and Injustice, the Characters of the Lord *Grey*, of *Wilton*, and of the Lord *Wentworth*. Although the Former stands accused (*s*) of having betrayed to the Enemy the Castle of *Guifnes*, of which He was the Governor, yet the Charge is intirely overbalanced by the Testimony of the *French* Writers, who, candidly acknowledge that He not only made a good, but a desperate Defence; and that if He had either commanded a numerous Garrison, or entertained any Hopes of Relief, He would infallibly have preserved the Place. Even when reduced to Extremities, He would not surrender but upon honourable Terms

(*r*) Grafton, p. 1354, 1355.—Stowe, p. 631, 632.—Godwin, p. 330, 331.—Burnet, V. 2. p. 357.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 432.—Lord Burleigh's Diary, in Murdin's Collection of State Papers, p. 747.—Thuan. Hist. Lib. 20. Sect. 3.—Dupleix, V. 3. p. 576, 577.—P. Daniel, V. 8. p. 210.

(*s*) Grafton, p. 1357, 1359.—Stowe, p. 632.—Godwin, p. 331, 332.

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Terms (t) ; a Conduct widely different from that of the Governor of *Hamel*, a Castle situated in an almost inaccessible Marsh, and every Way tenable during the most powerful Attacks. This Coward did not wait the Issue of a Battle, but fled with all the Troops, and left the Fortrefs open to the Entrance of the *French* (u). Of the Lord *Wentworth*, it is sufficient to observe that He was tried by his Peers (x), (on a Suspicion of having traitorously surrendered *Calais* to the Enemy,) and, after a full Hearing, honourably acquitted (y).

That the News of these Misfortunes should have driven *Mary* to Despair, is far from being singular ; but it becomes a Matter of Surprise (to borrow the Sentiments of a naval Writer (x)) (that the Council should have answered *Philip* in the most dejected Strain, when that Prince exhorted Them to make a vigorous, and immediate Effort for the Recovery of *Calais*. They, probably, were apprehensive of the Consequences which might arise from having once more loaded the Nation with the enormous Expence which might be necessary for the Maintenance of that Fortrefs, and desirous of embracing so favourable an Opportunity of exhibiting to *Philip*, in the most striking Point of View, the Calamities occasioned by the War, and their total Inability to concur with Him any longer in the Prosecution of his Schemes (a).

To demonstrate the Probability of these Suggestions, and enable the Reader to form the clearest Idea of the real

(t) Thuan. Hist. Lib. 20. Sect. 3.—Dupleix, V. 3. p. 577, 578.—P. Daniel. Histoire de France, V. 8. p. 216.

(u) Grafton, p. 1360.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 1140.

(x) April 2, 1559.

(y) Stowe, p. 638.

(z) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 433.

(a) See the Copy of the Letter from the Council, dated February 1. 1557.—Cotton Library.—Titus, B. 2.

real Importance of *Calais*, it may be necessary to observe that when *Francis*, the First, was detained a Prisoner in *Spain*, some Confidents of *Henry*, the Eighth, advised Him (as appears by a Letter from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to Cardinal *Wolsey*,) to avail Himself of this Opportunity of parting not only with this Fortress, but with all his Possessions in *France*, on a Supposition that, by such a Measure, He might replenish his Treasury, yet not impair his Honour. The Point was referred to the Priv-Council, who, after some Debate, resolved that it would be most prudent to keep the Place. This Opinion is the more extraordinary, as the Maintenance of *Calais*, during the Time that it was annexed to the Crown of *England* amounted nearly to three Millions, Sterling (*b*). The Computation of the Advantages derived from it may be attended with some Difficulty; yet, surely, these Remarks may, in some Measure, be deemed plausible, when it is considered with what Indifference, *Elizabeth*, and her Ministers treated the Proposal for the Restoration of this Fortress, and how little anxious the *English* have been to repossess it, from that Period to the present Time. On this Occasion, We shall observe that, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty, and prior to the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, the *French*, after having first endeavoured, but in vain, to accomplish their Designs, by Menaces, directed their Ambassadors at *London*, to offer *Calais*, to *Elizabeth*, on Condition that She should recall from *Scotland* the Forces which had been sent thither, to assist, and protect the Professors of the reformed Religion. The Value which the Queen (and, probably, her Subjects,) had set upon this Place, is evident from her shrewd, and spirited Reply that, for the Sake of a paltry fishing Town, She would not neglect Those who

(*b*) Strype's Annals, V. 1. p. 26.

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who had been assured of her Support (c). Let us add that in the Middle of the sixteenth Century, the House of *Austria* (almost as formidable as the House of *Bourbon* is, at present,) was regarded, by the greater Part of *Europe*, with equal Fear, and Jealousy. How well this Apprehension was conducted, and with what Address the *English* Ministry managed the general Inclination, so as to render the Weakness of other States, the Cause of enfeebling *Spain*, and that to a Degree from which She hath not since recovered, will be explained hereafter. In the mean Time, let us return to the last, and, indeed the chief naval Expedition during the Course of this Reign (d).

In January of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-eight, the Queen, who had demanded from the Parliament the necessary Supplies for the Expences of the War, received a Grant of a Fifteenth, together with a Subsidy of four Shillings in the Pound, on Land, and two Shillings, and eight Pence, on Goods. The Clergy, also, advanced eight Shillings, in the Pound, payable in four Years, by equal Portions. With these Resources, *Mary* fitted out a Fleet, consisting of one hundred, and forty Sail, and gave the Command of it to the High-Admiral of *England*, *Edward*, Lord *Clinton*. On board of this Armament (which was afterwards reinforced by thirty *Flemish* Ships,) were six thousand Soldiers, under the Earls of *Huntingdon*, and *Rutland*. The Destination of the Equipment was against *Brest*, which had been so well fortified, and was so powerfully guarded by the *French*, that the Admiral, on his Arriyal, judged it prudent, to relinquish his Intentions, and proceed immediately to *Conquet*. Here,

(c) Camdeni Annal: Elizabethæ. edit. T. Hearne, V. 1.

P. 64.

(d) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 434.

Here, the Troops were disembarked, and after having plundered, and reduced the Town to Ashes, together with some neighbouring Villages, marched forwards, resolved to spread their Depredations into the Heart of the Country. The Militia under the Command of *Kerfman*, by Birth a *Breton*, now assembled to resist Them, and in a severe Conflict, slew six hundred, and drove the Rest with Precipitation to their Ships. By this time, the whole Province had risen to oppose a fresh Descent, and the Lord *Clinton* who foresaw, from his Inferiority of Numbers, that a second Engagement might prove the total Destruction of the *English*, returned Home, without attempting to commit the least Hostility (e).

This Defeat, and the Loss of *Calais*, were shortly afterwards revenged by a singular Circumstance, near *Gravelines*. The Count of *Egmont* was, with the *Spanish* Army, engaged against the *French* Troops, under the Command of the *Mareschal de Thermes*. These Last were on the Point of gaining a complete Victory, when, luckily, for the First, ten *English* Ships, which were cruising near the Coast, being drawn by the Report of the Artillery, sailed up the River, and with the Advantage of the Wind, approached the Field of Battle, adjoining to the Shore. Having brought their Guns to bear upon the left Wing of the *French* Forces, They did such terrible Execution as quickly decided the Fate of the Day, and forced two hundred of the Enemy, amongst whom were *de Thermes*, and the principal Officers, to flee to the *English* Ships, for Quarter (f). This Victory, together with the Death of *Mary*, accelerated

(e) Grafton, p. 1363, 1364.—Stowe, p. 634.—Godwin, p. 334. Thuan. Hist. Lib. 20. Sect. 9, 10.—Dupleix, V. 5. p. 583, 584.—P. Daniel, V. 8. p. 232.
(f) Holingshed, p. 1150.

rated the Peace of *Cumbray*, which was concluded soon after the Elevation of her Successor to the Throne.

The Disappointments of her Reign, the cold Indifference of *Philip*, the Dread of losing Him, imbibed by the Certainty that He would shortly depart for *Spain*, and settle there for the Remainder of his Life, the Calamities which the War had brought on *England*, and the general Discontent of her subjects, had fatally impaired the Constitution of the Queen, who, likewise, mistaking a Dropsy for a Pregnancy, had pursued a Regimen which added Strength to her Disorder.

These, indeed, contributed to her Death, but the immediate Cause of it was an infectious Fever, which raged exceedingly during the Autumn of the Year, and differing but little from a Plague, carried off Multitudes of the People, and particularly Those amongst the higher Ranks of Society, who, more at Ease in their Fortunes, perhaps, lived less temperately than the Poor (g). It was during the last Sickness of the Queen that *Philip* entered into his Treaty with the *French*, and although He, at first, affected to insist strenuously on the Restitution of *Calais*, yet it, afterwards, appeared that He pursued this Conduct, partly for the Sake of Form, and partly, to obtain by a subsequent Indifference concerning the Acquisition of that Fortress, more essential Advantages in Points particularly connected with the Power, and Prosperity of *Spain*. The Loss of *Calais* had thrown the Queen into the most melancholy Dejection, and She was accustomed to observe to her Attendants that, after her Death, They might find the Name of this Place written in her Heart

(g) Cooper's Chronicle, Folio 377.—Stow's Annals, p. 684.—Dr. Haddon's Answer apologetical to Hierome Oforius, who alledged that Mary was poisoned, Folio 28.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. i. p. 436.

Heart (*A*). Worn out by Disease, and Sorrow, She expired on the seventeenth of November, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-eight, having reigned five Years, four Months, and eleven Days.

The Character of *Mary* is too execrable to be discussed with Calmness. Let it be sufficient to observe that the Extremes of Folly, Obstinacy, Tyranny, Bigotry, Barbarity, and Revenge, were the ruling Principles of her Conduct; and that, if We except the Remittance of a Subsidy, at the Commencement of her Reign, She was so deficient in Policy, and in Generosity, as never to have conferred a Favour on her People. Justly hath it been remarked (*i*) that She died, as She had lived, insensible to the Cries of the Protestants whom She had massacred, and the Contempt, and Abhorrence of the Nation whom She dishonoured, and oppressed.

Concerning the naval Power of *England*, during this Epoch, We have Reason to infer that it was sunk to a disgraceful Ebb, since, when the scanty Sum of fourteen thousand Pounds was ordered, and deemed sufficient for the Purposes of repairing, and victualling the Fleet, it was computed that all the necessary Expences of the marine Establishment would not amount, annually, to more than ten thousand Pounds (*k*). The Progress of Commerce must have been equally impeded, under the baneful Influence of a Queen, who, by Measures, at once violent, and irregular, extorted Money from her People, to gratify the Avarice, and forward the

(*h*) Grafton, p. 1365, 1366.—Holingshead, V. 2. p. 1162. —Speed, p. 830.—Godwin's Annals, p. 340, 341.—Lord Burleigh's Diary, in Murdin's Collection of State Papers, p. 747.

(*i*) Histoire de la Querelle de Philippe de Valois, et d'Edouard III. &c. par M. Gaillard, V. 4. p. 486.

(*k*) Burnet, V. 3. p. 259.

the ambitious Enterprizes of her Husband. She borrowed from a thousand Persons, whose Opulence, and Attachment had both enabled, and inclined Them to assist Her, the Sum of sixty thousand Pounds. As this Supply was inadequate to her Wants, She, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-five, levied a general Loan on all her Subjects whose yearly Incomes were valued at twenty pounds. The Burden of this Extortion pressed so severely on many of the Gentry, that, with a View of facilitating their Submission to it, They lessened their Expences, and dismissed a Part of their Retinue. It was too natural for Domestics inured to Idleness, and to whom Servitude was the only lawful Mean of Subsistence to engage, from the Moment that They were discarded, in Theft, and Robberies; and, therefore, the Queen, with a Propriety which would have been still more laudable, had She freed their Masters from a Part of this pecuniary Imposition, issued a Proclamation which compelled Them to establish their former Retainers in their Places. On seven thousand Yeomen who had not contributed to the former Loan, She levied sixty thousand Marks; and, likewise, exacted thirty-six thousand Pounds more from the Merchants. To incite the Citizens of *London* to a chearful Compliance with her arbitrary Demands, She published an Edict which forbid, during the Space of four Months, the Exportation of any *English* Cloths, or Kerseys, to *Elanders*: an Expedient which is observed to have procured a good Market for Such as had already sent any Cloth thither. It would be endless to recite the Instances of the Impediments, and Disturbances to which the Progress of Commerce was exposed by the Avarice, and Tyranny of the Queen. When the *English* Company settled at *Antwerp* refused to gratify Her by a Loan of forty thousand

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fand Pounds, She concealed her Determination to be revenged, until They had purchased, and shipped great Quantities of Cloth, for the approaching Fair in that City. She, then, caused an Embargo to be laid on the Ships, and compelled the Merchants, not only to advance the forty thousand Pounds, at first demanded, but to give Bonds for the Payment of twenty-thousand Pounds more, at a stated Time, and to submit to an arbitrary Imposition of twenty Shillings, on each Piece of Cloth. Having been informed, soon afterwards, that the *Italian Merchants* had freighted Vessels with about forty thousand Pieces of Cloth for the *Levant*, at the usual Duty of a Crown, for each Piece, She struck a Bargain with the *Merchant-Adventurers* of *London*; debarred the Foreigners from the Liberty of Exportation, and, in Recompence for this oppressive Act of Fraud, took from the *English* Merchants the Sum of fifty thousand Pounds, together with an Imposition of four Crowns, on each Piece of Cloth which They should export. She endeavoured to borrow enormous Sums from foreign States, with whom She had so little Credit, that the City of *Antwerp* refused to supply Her with thirty-thousand Pounds, although at the vast Interest of fourteen *per Cent.* until She had constrained the City of *London* to give Security for the Repayment of the Money (*l*). All these violent Expedients are truly remarked (*m*) to have been employed whilst She herself was in profound Peace with all the World, and had visibly no other Occasion for money but to supply the Demands of a Husband who gave Attention only to his

(*l*) Godwin, p. 359.—Cooper's Chronicle.—Burnet, V. 2. p. 359.—Carte, p. 330, 333, 337, 341.—Sturpe's Memorials, V. 3. p. 428, 558.—Annals, V. 1. p. 15.

(*m*) Hume's History of England, V. 4. 870. p. 423. 424.

his own Convenience, and shewed Himself intirely indifferent about her Interests.

It was not until after a mature Examination of the pernicious Consequences of such unlimited Extortions, that Sir *Thomas Smith*, one of the Members for the City of *London* observed (in the Parliamentary Debate, whether it was more expedient that Queen *Elizabeth* should marry a Native, or a Foreigner (n) ?) that his mercantile Constituents were worth less, by three hundred thousand Pounds, than at the Demise of *Edward*, the Sixth. The Satisfaction with which the Nation received the News of the Death of *Mary* is, therefore, little to be wondered at; especially, if We reflect that, exclusive of those superstitious Barbarities which rendered her so detestable to the Majority of her Subjects, the unnatural Alliance with the House of *Austria* had introduced a national Distrust of all the Measures of the Court, and extinguished that patriotic Zeal which powerfully connecting Views, and Efforts, becomes the firmest Ground-Work of those Enterprizes whereby the State advances to Prosperity, and Honour.

We think it necessary to observe (since the commercial Reader will draw his Inferences from the Fact,) that during the Period between the Marriage of *Maximilian* to the Heiress of the last Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Decease of Queen *Mary*, the bare Expence of the Wars entered into, or Subsidies granted by *England*, in Support of these Allies, amounted to six Millions, Sterling, besides the Profits accruing from the Inter-course of Commerce which hath been mentioned amongst the Transactions of the former Reign. It was this Circumstance which, in a great Measure, occasioned the Course of Trade to run in a more salutary Channel.

(n) See the whole Speech in the Appendix to the Life of Sir *Thomas Smith*, by *Strype*, N. 3. p. 7.

Channel, and put a Period to the Monopolies of exclusive Companies, and Foreigners in the *Steel-Yard*: a Measure which, in the Opinion of a naval Writer (o), must have continued impracticable, or, at least, would never have been deemed practicable, if, in Consequence of the national Calamities arising from the iniquitous Administration under *Mary*, the Political System had not undergone a total Revolution. The Accomplishment of this important Point must be ascribed to Sir *William Cecil*, who, seldom employed, although much regarded by that Princess, availed Himself of his leisure Moments, to acquire that speculative, and practical Knowledge of the Coinage, and of Commerce, which He exerted in the succeeding Reign so much to his own Honour, and the Advantage of his Sovereign. As the abject Reliance placed by *Mary* on a foreign Council was the most baneful Error of her Government, so the principal Source of the Fame, and Felicity of *Elizabeth* was her Adherence to Views entirely connected with the Interests of *England*. Such was the Plan of Politics inculcated by *Cecil*, who, with equal Judgment, and Integrity, supposed that neither the Prince, nor Minister could be secure, when They relinquished the Pursuit of Measures intended for the Benefit of Ali. (p).

The Reader will not imagine that *Mary* can, in any Sense, be considered as the Protectress of Commerce, when He is informed how suddenly she cancelled those Edicts which had been issued for its Advancement. The Grants of Monopolies seem to have been, at this Epoch, a Species of Tyranny peculiar to Herself, and not

(o) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 438.

(p) Ibid.—Character of Sir William Cecil, in Camden, V. 3. p. 773, 774, 775.—Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia.—Life of Lord Burleigh.—Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 473.

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not ventured on by any other Potentates in *Europe*. An Act passed in the Parliament which met on the twenty-fourth of October, and in the first Year of the Reign of this Queen, enforced the Decree of *Edward*, the Sixth, against the Merchants of the *Steel-Yard*, and formally annulled the Privileges which They assumed. Relatively to this Measure, the Commons judiciously observed that although the Immunities had been represented as conducive to the Prosperity, and Increase of Trade, yet They, in Fact, had proved detrimental to it, by maintaining amongst these Merchants a Monopoly, by secreting the Mystery of Traffic from the Natives of the Realm, and by establishing a Kind of foreign Republic in its Metropolis. Yet the Queen, yielding, soon after her Marriage, to the Solicitations of the Emperor, *Charles*, the Fifth, suspended the Execution of this Act, during three Years, and discharged the *German* Merchants from the Payment of any other Duties, except Those to which They had submitted in the Reigns of *Henry*, the Eighth, and of *Edward*, the Sixth (q). Thus violent was the Exercise of the Prerogative; nor did any Person, in that Age, presume to question it (r). On this Point, even History is silent; and all our Information is confined to Public Records.

To one particular Branch of Commerce, some slight Relief was indeed given by the Repeal of a Law, enacted in the preceding Reign, and forbidding all Persons, who had not served an Apprenticeship for seven Years, to manufacture Cloth. To this Statute the Parliament imputed the Decay of the Woollen Trade, and the

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(q) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 15. p. 364.—Wheeler's *Treatise of Commerce*, Quarto, London, 1601.—Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 439.

(r) Hume's *History of England*, V. 4. 8vo. p. 448.

Ruin of several Towns (1). We cannot avoid repeating from a great Historian (1), that it is strange that the Law of *Edward* should have been revived under *Elizabeth*, and yet more strange that it should still subsist.

The Reader must have perceived from the Account of the Voyages of Captain *Chancellor* that several Letters were written from the Court of *England* to foreign Princes, and States, in Favour of the Merchants. It must, also, be confessed that *Philip* encouraged a commercial Intercourse with *Spain*, and the dependant Provinces. This Measure, which He, perhaps, would never have pursued, but that He judged it necessary to the Completion of his ambitious Schemes, proved advantageous to private Individuals, enlivened the Spirit of Trade, and, in some Measure augmented the Public Stock. Yet these mercantile Connexions were not either sufficiently powerful, or profitable, to balance the Inconveniences which arose from the Influence of foreign Councils, much less would They have made the *English* Amends, if the Intrigues of this enterprising Prince had proved effectual. That He had conceived a Design of adding *England*, and *Ireland* to his hereditary Dominions, and of awing Them by *Spanish* Garrisons is a Fact which cannot be disputed; but the War against *France*, and the early Death of *Mary* prevented the Execution of his Projects (2). As these Circumstances, and particularly the Last, proved the Safe-guard of the Nation, so did They severely mortify the Mind of *Philip*, who, still eager in the Pursuit of

(1) 1 Mar. Parl. 2 Cap. 7.

(1) Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 449.

(2) Lord Bacon's Speech, in D'Ewes's Journal, Ann. 1. Elizab. — Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. 8vo. p. 440.

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 131

of absolute Dominion, exerted all his Address, and employed his utmost Power to atchieve by Force, what He could not obtain by Fraud, and thereby ruined his own maritime Strength, and augmented that of the *English*, under *Elizabeth*, much beyond what their own industrious Endeavours could otherwise have effected (x).

Of Property, the prime Mover of Commerce, the Reader will be enabled to form a more precise Idea, when He examines the Clauses of an Act, passed in this Reign (y), which settled the Number of Horses, Arms, and Furniture, to be provided by each Person, according to the Extent of his Possessions, for the Defence of the Kingdom. He, for Instance, whose Estate amounted annually to a thousand Pounds, was obliged to maintain, at his own Expence, six Horses proper for Demi-Lances, of which three, at least, were to be furnished with sufficient Harness, Steel-Saddles, and Weapons fit for the Demi-Lances; and ten Light-Horses proper for Light-Horsemen, with Furniture, and Weapons fit for Them: He was, likewise, obliged to have forty Corsets burnished; fifty *Almain* Rivets, (light Plates of Iron, for the Defence of the Arms,) or, instead of them, forty Coats of Plate, Corsets, or Brigandines burnished; forty Pikes, thirty long Bows, thirty Sheafs of Arrows, thirty steel Caps, or Skulls, twenty black Bills, or Halberts, twenty Haquebuts, (or Guns,) and twenty Morins, (Steel-Caps,) or Sallets. It must be observed that a Man of a thousand Marks of Stock was rated equal to One of two hundred Pounds; a Year: a Proof that few, or no Persons lived, during that Æra, on their monied Stock,

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(x) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. 8vo. p. 440.

(y) 4 & 5. Phil. et Mar. Cap. 2.

and that the Merchants gained great Profits in the Course of their Trade. We do not meet with any Class rated at above a thousand Pounds, a Year (z).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-four, Mr. *John Locke*, proceeded, with three Ships, on his Voyage to *Guinea*, along the Coast of which Country, He traded, with much Success, for Gold, and Ivory. He was not, however, tempted to venture farther, and, soon afterwards, returned to *England*.

On the thirtieth of September, in the following Year, Mr. *William Towerfon*, a Merchant of the City of *London*, sailed from the Isle of *Wight*, with two Ships, named the *Hart*, and *Hind*, on a trading Voyage to the River *Sestos*, in *Guinea*, and to the adjacent Harbours. Having returned to *Bristol*, in the May following, He prepared for a second Expedition, and on the fourteenth of September, in the ensuing Year, proceeded from *Narwich*, on the same Voyage, with two Ship, the *Tiger*, and *Hart*, attended by a Pinnace. On the twenty-ninth of April following, He returned from his Voyage, the Particulars of which are too long to be inserted, here. The Reader will find Them in *Hackluyt*, where the natural Productions of the Country, the Manners of the Inhabitants, and the Quantities of Gold, and other Merchandizes, imported by *Towerfon*, are severally enumerated.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-seven, the fourth, and last Voyage during the Course of this Reign, was undertaken to *Russia*. Captain *Anthony Jenkinson* was appointed to the Command of the small Squadron, fitted out on this Occasion, which consisted of four Ships, the *Primrose*, the *Saint John*, the *Evangelist*, the *Anne*, and the *Trinity*. These, having on Board the *Muscovite* Ambassador, and his Retinue, sailed

(z) Hume's History of England, V. 4. 8vo. p. 449.

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failed from *Gravesend*, on the twelfth of May, but did not lose Sight of *England*, until the seventeenth of June. On the twelfth of July, They arrived at the Road of Saint *Nicholas*, where, on the following Day, the Ambassador landed, and proceeded, with Captain *Jenkinson*, on his Journey to *Moscow*. As the Reception of the Latter, in this Capital, was not materially different from that afforded to *Chancellor*, We shall omit the Particulars of it, and inform the Reader that, on the twenty-third of April, in the following Year, *Jenkinson* directed the Fleet to quit the Bay of *Saint Nicholas*, and returned to *England*. He remained during some Weeks at *Moscow*, and, afterwards set out for the City of *Boghar*, in *Bactria*. Having travelled nearly six hundred Leagues, by Land, He, on the tenth of August, sailed, in a small Vessel, to the *Caspian* Sea, and disembarked, near the Southermost Bay of it, on the third of September. His next Journey was through a Desert, on which He could not perceive either Town, or Habitation, and where (as He had taken but few Necessaries,) He was exposed, during twenty Days, to the Severities of Fatigue, Thirst, and Hunger. At length, He arrived at a Gulf of the *Caspian* Sea, into which the River *Oxus* formerly discharged itself, but then, ran into another River, not far distant, and called *Ardock*, the Course of which is *Northwards*, and under Ground, for above five hundred Miles, after which it rises again, and flows into the Lake of *Kitay*. From hence, *Jenkinson* departed, on the fourth of October, and arrived, on the twenty-third of December, at *Boghar*, having escaped a Variety of Dangers, and surmounted innumerable Difficulties. He quitted this last Place, on the eighth of March following, and, proceeding in his former Track, reached *Moscow*, on the

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second of September, and, soon afterwards, returned to *England* (a).

Concerning the Coinage, it may be necessary to observe that by an Indenture of the first Year of the Reign of *Queen Mary*, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of the old Standard, was coined into thirty-six Pounds; and a Pound-Weight of Silver, eleven Ounces, fine, was coined into three Pounds, by Tale. The gold Coins of this *Queen*, are Sovereigns, at thirty Shillings; Half-Sovereigns, at fifteen Shillings; Angels, at ten Shillings, and Half-Angels, at five Shillings, a Piece. The Silver Monies of *Mary* are Shillings, Sixpences, Groats, Half-Groats, and (perhaps,) Pennies, but *Thoresby* observes that he never either saw, or heard of any of these Last (b).

We shall conclude this Period with

A LIST of those Persons who have either been advanced to the Rank of LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, or enjoyed that Command, under any other Title, or Denomination, from the Accession of HENRY, the FOURTH, to the Death of MARY, the FIRST (c).

1. HEN. VII. *John de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, High Chamberlain of *England*, and Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, and *Aquitain*.

4. HEN.

(a) Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 295, &c. &c.—Purchas. Part 3. p. 231.—Collection of Voyages in six Volumes, Folio.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. Folio, p. 128, 130.

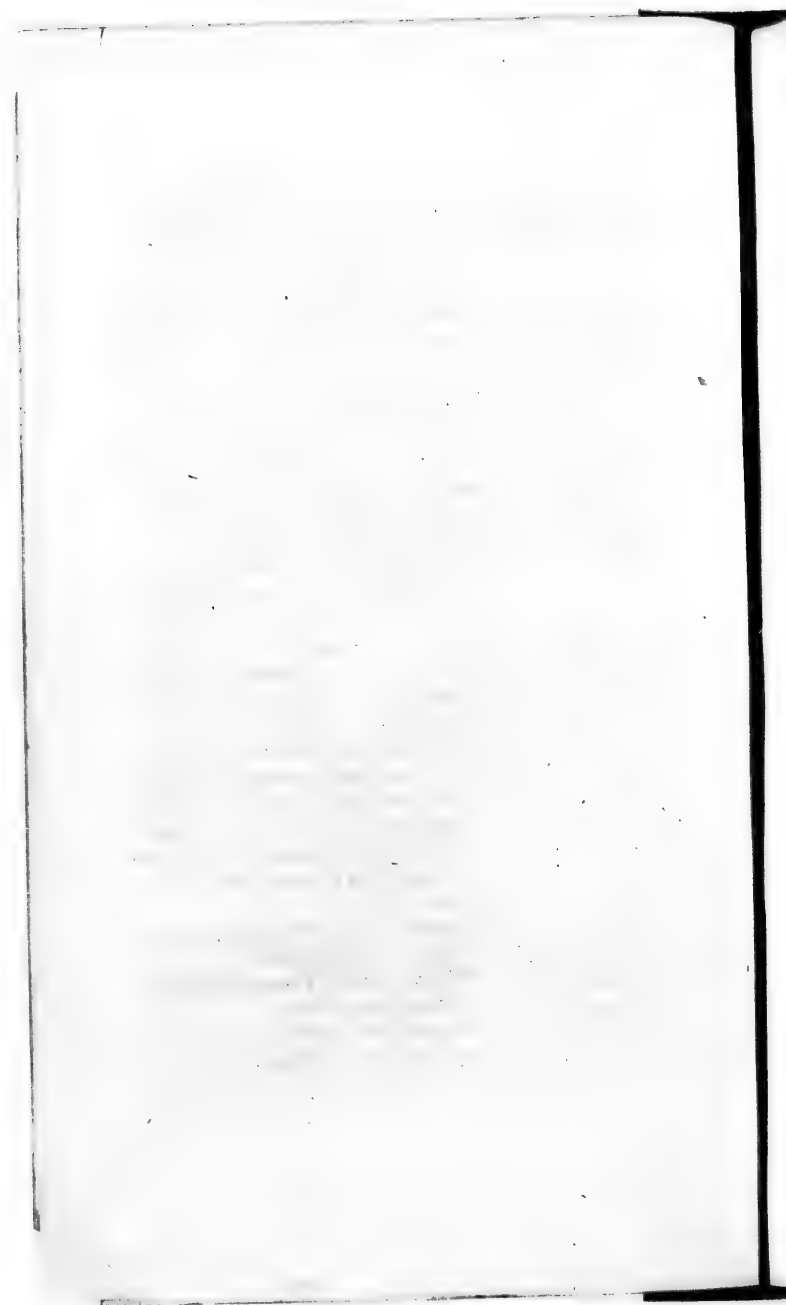
(b) Madox's History of the Exchequer.—Stowe's Chronicle, p. 616.—Evelyn's Numisma. p. 91, 92.—Camden's Remains. Chapter of Money.—Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library, Folio, p. 265, 266.—Rapin's History of England, 8vo. V. 7. p. 177, 178.

(c) Spelman.—Lediard's Naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 131.

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4. HEN. VIII. Sir *Edward Howard*, the Son of *Thomas*, Earl of *Surry*, afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*, Admiral as above.
5. *Thomas Howard*, elder Brother of *Edward*, aforesaid, Earl of *Surry*, afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*, Admiral, as above.
17. *Henry*, natural Son of King *Henry*, the Eighth, Duke of *Richmond*, and *Somerset*, Earl of *Nottingham*, Admiral, as above.
28. *William Fitz-William*, Earl of *Southampton*, Admiral, as above.
32. *John*, Lord *Russel*, Admiral as above.
34. *John Dudley*, *Viccom. Insula*, and Baron of *Malpas*, &c. Admiral, as above.
- 1 EDW. VI. *Thomas de Saint Mauro*, (vulg. *Seimor*,) Lord of *Saint Mauro*, of *Sudley*, Brother of *Edward*, Duke of *Somerset*, Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Calais*, *Boulogne*, &c.
3. *John Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, Viscount *Lisle*, &c. High Admiral of *England*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Calais*, *Boulogne*, and their several Counties, of *Normandy*, *Gascony*, and *Aquitain*; also General Prefect of the Fleet, and of the King's Seas, &c.
4. *Edward Clinton*, Baron of *Clinton*, and *Say*, Admiral, as above.
1. MARY I. *William Howard*, Baron of *Wingham*, Admiral, as above.
3. *Edward Clinton*, Baron of *Clinton*, and *Say*, Admiral, as above.

MEMOIRS



M E M O I R S

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

The FOURTH PERIOD.

From the seventeenth of November, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-eight, to the twenty-fourth of March, (Old-Style,) in the Year, one Thousand, six Hundred, and Three.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS
TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of ELIZABETH.

IN few Hours after the Death of *Mary*, the Council appointed *Heathe*, the Chancellor, and Archbishop of *Yerk*, to inform the Parliament, which was then sitting, of that important Circumstance. On the Delivery of his Message, the two Houses appeared unanimous in their Joy, and their Acclamations of "God save Queen *Elizabeth* ! Long, and happily may "She reign !" were repeated by the Populace, who exulted to discover that the Crown had passed from a capri-

capricious Tyrant, to a Sovereign whose Inclinations, Virtues and Abilities were considered as the endearing Earnest of an happier Æra.

Elizabeth received the News of her Accession to the Throne, at *Hatfield*, and, on the nineteenth of November, proceeded, amidst Multitudes of her rejoicing Subjects, to *London*. On her entrance within the *Tower*, at length, by the Alteration of her Fortune, converted into a Court, where She presided as the Sovereign, her Mind was filled with the Idea that it was, last, her dismal Prison; and bursting into Tears of pious Gratitude, She acknowledged the Bounty of the ALMIGHTY who, during the Horrors of religious Persecution had vouchsafed to preserve her Life; a Deliverance which She affirmed was no less miraculous than that which *Daniel* had received from the Den of Lions. After this Act of Thanksgiving, She, with equal Prudence, and Generosity, declared her Resolution, to forgive her Enemies, and bury their Offences in Oblivion; and so rigidly did She fulfil this Promise, that even *Sir Henry Bennisfield*, who had treated Her, when committed to his Custody, with the most unwarrantable Brutality, was never exposed, during the Remainder of her Life, to the slightest Effects of her Resentment. Her gracious Notice was extended to All who came to pay their Compliments, on her Advancement, except the flagitious *Bonner*, from whom, as from a Monster drenched in human Blood, She turned aside with Pain, and Detestation (a).

In Haste to enter on those commercial, and naval Transactions which have so signally contributed to
immor-

(a) Additions to *Fabian*, p. 566.—*Grafton*, p. 1367.—*Cooper's Chronicle*, Folio, 377.—*Lord Burleigh's Diary* of the Reign of *Elizabeth*, in *Murdin's Collections*, p. 747.—*Stowe*.—*Holinghed*, V. 2.—*Speed*.—*Burnet*, V. 2. p. 373, 374.—*Heylin*, p. 102.

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immortalize the Memory of this illustrious Princess, We pass over the Changes of the Ministry, and Council (b), the violent, and ridiculous Opposition of Pope *Paul* to her Establishment on the Throne (c), the Proposals made to Her by *Philip*, and the sagacious Reasons for her Refusal (d), the Measures adopted for the Revival of the reformed Religion (e), and the Interference of the Court in the Nomination of the parliamentary Candidates (f). Let it be sufficient that, without trespassing on the Patience of the Reader, by unnecessary Digressions, We inform Him that the Lords, and Commons agreed unanimously in their Determination to maintain *Elizabeth*, on the Throne, and, at the Opening of their first Sessions, declared that She "was, " and ought to be, as well by the Word of GOD, as " by the common, and Statute Laws of the Realm, " the legal, undoubted, and true Heir to the Crown, " lawfully descended from the Blood royal, according " to the Order of Succession settled in the thirty-fifth " Year of the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth (g)." Thus, with equal Magnanimity, and Moderation, avoiding all invidious Reflexions, either on the Memory of her Father, or the Birth of her Sister *Mary*, She took Possession of the Throne, as her natural Right, and as insured to her by former Acts of Parliament (h).

On

(b) *Styke's Annals*, V. 1. p. 5.

(c) *Father Paul*, Lib. 5.

(d) *Camden in Kennet*, p. 370.—*Burnet*, V. 2. p. 375.

(e) *Burnet*, V. 2. p. 377, 378, 380.—*Camden*, p. 375, 371.—*Heylin*, p. 103, 104.—*Styke*, V. 1. p. 29, 41, 54.—*Stowe*, p. 735.

(f) *State Papers collected by Edward Earl of Clarendon*, p. 92.

(g) *Eliz. Cap.* 3.

(h) *Camden*, p. 372.—*Heylin*, p. 107, 108.—*Hume's History of England*, 8vo. V. 5. p. 9, 10.

On Account of their Relation to Commerce, it may be necessary to mention a Vote, in the House, of a Subsidy to the Queen, of four Shillings in the Pound, on Land, and two Shillings, and eight Pence, on Goods, together with two Fifteenths; and, also, a Grant of the Duties of Tonnage, and Poundage. This last Concession was regarded as a mere matter of Form, since *Elizabeth* had enforced the Imposition before it was allowed of, by the Parliament: Yet We must observe, from a celebrated Historian (*i*), that there was another Exertion of Power which the Queen resorted to, and which, our Readers, if ignorant of ancient Practices, may deem extraordinary. Immediately on the Declaration of the War against *France*, *Mary* had, by her own Authority, levied a Duty of four Marks on each imported Ton of Wine, and increased the Poundage a Third on all Commodities. *Elizabeth* continued these Impositions as long as She judged convenient. The Parliament, although furnished with so favourable an Opportunity of restraining these arbitrary Taxes, when They voted the Tonnage, and Poundage, did not think it proper to make any Mention of them. They were conscious that the Sovereigns, during that Era, claimed the sole Regulation of *foreign Trade*, and that their Interference with that Prerogative would have drawn on Them the severest Reproof, and, probably, some Chastisement (*k*). It is evident from the Statutes, and Journals, that no such Impositions were granted by the Parliament.

The first Service in which *Elizabeth* employed (*l*) a Part of the royal Navy, was for the Defence of the narrow

(i) Hume's History of England, V. 5. 8vo. Note A. p.

493.

(k) Forbes, V. 1. p. 132, 133.—A. D. 1558.

(l) November 21, 1558.

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narrow Seas, where Vice-Admiral *Martin* was stationed, with a powerful Squadron, and directed to prevent all Persons whatsoever from quitting, or entering the Kingdom, without a proper Licence. He executed this Commission with a Degree of Rigour which was likely to be productive of alarming Consequences, and, therefore, the Council judged it prudent to abate the Strictness of their Orders, and signified to the Wardens of the *Cinque Ports* that it was the Pleasure of the Queen, who meant not to imprison her faithful Subjects, that All should pass, and repass, on their lawful Business (m). At the same Time, the *Isle of Wight*, *Dover*, *Portsmouth*, and the other maritime Towns were strongly fortified, in Order that They might the more effectually resist the Enterprizes of any foreign Power against the Kingdom (n).

The Peace which had been procrastinated by different Negotiations, first at *Cercamp*, and next at *Cateau-Cambresis*, between the Ministers of *France*, *Spain*, and *England*, was, in the Month of April, of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-nine, concluded on the Part of *Henry*, and *Elizabeth*. The Terms obtained by the Ambassadors of the Latter, the Lord *Effingham*, *Richard Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*, and Doctor *Wotton*, were that the King of *France* should restore the Town of *Calais*, at the Expiration of eight Years, or pay the Penalty of fifty-thousand Crowns to *Elizabeth*, whose Title to that Fortrefs should still remain. It was, also, stipulated that seven, or eight foreign Merchants, not Natives of *France*, should become the Sureties for *Henry*, in the above Sum; that five Hostages should be delivered on the Part of the King,

(m) Strype's Annals, V. i. p. 6.

(n) Lord Burleigh's Diary. Cotton Library. Titus, C. 10.

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8vo. Note A. p.

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King, until these Sureties were provided; that if, during this Interval, *Elizabeth* should break the Peace, either with *France*, or *Scotland*, her Claim to *Calais* was to be deemed invalid; and that were *Henry* to make War against *Elizabeth*, He should be obliged instantly to restore that Place. In this Treaty, the *Dauphin*, and *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, were included (o).

The Investigation of those Proceedings which contributed to the Insurrection of the Malecontents in *Scotland*, is foreign to our Subject. Let it be sufficient to observe that *Elizabeth*, although with Difficulty, was prevailed on to espouse their Cause (p). Accordingly, She gave Orders for the immediate Equipment of a Squadron consisting of thirteen Ships of War, the Command of which was intrusted to Admiral *Winter*. At the same Time, the Queen appointed the Duke of *Norfolk*, her Lieutenant in the *Northern* Counties, and dispatched the Lord *Gray*, Warden of the *East*, and *Middle-Marches*, to *Berwick*, where He put Himself at the Head of an Army amounting to eight Thousand Men. It was on this Occasion that the *French* offered immediately to restore *Calais* to *Elizabeth*, on Condition that She should not interpose in the Affairs of *Scotland*. The Reader hath already been informed (q) of her Reply; and We shall, here, add, that in Proof of its Sincerity, She concluded with the Malcontents, a Treaty of mutual Defence, which was to last during the Marriage of the Queen of *Scots*, and a Year after. She, likewise declared her Intentions not to withdraw her Assist-

(o) Forbes, p. 68.—Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 15. p. 505.—*Corps diplomatique du Droit des Gens*, V. 5. P. 1. p. 28.—*Buchanan*, Lib. 16, 17.—*Holingshed*, V. 2. p. 1184.—*Camden*, V. 1. p. 42.—*Mezeray*, V. 5. p. 15.

(p) Haynes, 217, 218.—*Keith*, V. 1. p. 113.—*Melvil*, p. 28, 29.—*Stowe*, p. 641.—*Speed*, p. 834.

(q) V. 2. of this Work, p. 120.

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Assistance, until the *French* had intirely evacuated *Scotland*. Thus resolved, She directed her Fleet, and Army, to proceed to Action (r).

The Admiral sailed with his Squadron to the *Frith* of *Forth*, and entered *Leith* Road, where a Part of the *French* Armament was at Anchor. An Engagement immediately followed, and the *English* were so fortunate as to take all the Ships belonging to the Enemy. In the Mean Time, the *French* Troops, having plundered the County of *Fife*, marched, by *Stirling*, to *Leith*, and prepared for their Defence. Here, They were twice attacked by the *English* Army, and a Reinforcement of five thousand *Scots* (s). In the first Conflict, the *English* were victorious; in the last, the *French*. The Lord *Grey* then directed his military Operations, against the Town, where the Besieged defended Themselves, during some Weeks, with great Conduct, and Intrepidity. At length, having been informed that the Fleet proceeding to their Assistance, under the Command of the Marquis *D'Elbeuf*, was dispersed by a Tempest; and, at the same Time, dreading lest They should perish for Want of Provisions, They desired to capitulate (t). Accordingly, on the fifth of July, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty, the Bishop of *Valens*, and the Count *de Randan*, Plenipotentiaries from *France*, signed a Treaty, at *Edinburgh*, with *Cecil*, and Doctor *Wolton*, who had been dispatched thither, for that Purpose, by the Queen. The Conditions in Favour of *England* were that the *French* Troops should immediately

(r) Forbes, V. 1. p. 454, 460.—Spotswood, p. 146.—Knox, p. 217.—Haynes's State Papers, V. 1. p. 153.—Rymer, V. 15. p. 569.

(s) Hayne's V. 1. p. 256, 259.

(t) Ibid, p. 223.

ly depart from *Scotland*; that, from thenceforward, *Francis*, and *Mary* should neither bear the Arms of *England*, nor arrogate to Themselves the Title of that Kingdom; that *Elizabeth* should be still more amply satisfied for the Injury, and Affront which She had received in this Particular; and that Commissioners should be assembled in Order to adjust the Point, concerning which if They disagreed, an Arbitration was to proceed from *Philip*. It was, likewise, stipulated, that an Amnesty should be published in *Scotland*, for all past Offences; that only the Natives should enjoy any Offices within that Country; that the States should nominate twenty four Persons, of whom the Queen of *Scots* should chuse seven, and the States five; that during the Absence of the Queen, the whole Administration should be vested in these twelve, and that *Mary* should neither make Peace, nor War, without the Consent of the States (u). That no Circumstance might retard the Ratification of this Treaty, *Elizabeth* sent Ships, in which the *French* Troops embarked, and returned to their own Country.

To the Prudence, and Firmness of her Conduct, during this early Transaction of her Reign, may be attributed a great Portion of the Power, Prosperity, and Fame, which She enjoyed, almost without an Interruption, for nearly half a Century. The first Advantages which *Elizabeth* drew from this Security may be traced in the Restoration of the reformed Religion, the Redress of those Grievances under which the People had laboured in the Life-Time of her Predecessor, the Amendment of the Coinage, the Construction of Fortresses, the Advancement of Commerce, and the Increase

(u) Rymer, V. 15. p. 593.—Keith, p. 137—Spotwood, p. 147.—Knox, p. 229.

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crease of the Marine: To the Business of this last Department She was particularly attentive, and, in Pursuance of her Commands, the most exact Surveys were taken of the Navy, the strictest Inquiries made into the Causes of its Decline, and every effectual Plan adopted for the Establishment of its Importance. Orders were issued for the Preservation of all Timber fit for building, and that the Ships, when compleated, might be immediately furnished with Artillery, and Ammunition, Numbers of brass Cannon were directed to be cast, whilst Quantities of Gunpowder, until that Period, imported at a vast Expence, were manufactured within the Kingdom. For the Protection of the Fleet, a Fort was erected on the Banks of the River Medway. This, from the Name of an adjacent Village, was called *Upmore* Castle, and overlooked the Road in which the Ships were, usually, at Anchor. More Officers, and Mariners were added to the Fleet, and the Salaries of Each considerably augmented. All Foreigners conversant in the Principles of naval Architecture were solicited to repair to *England*; and They who settled within the Kingdom were amply recompensed for their Assistance. Instructed by these Artificers, the Natives, in Process of Time, were eagerly employed in building Vessels of various Burthens, as well for War, as Commerce. Such were the happy Fruits of the judicious Measures of *Elizabeth*; and thus, (to borrow the Language of a great Historian (x),) did She approve Herself the Restorer of naval Power, and the Sovereign of the *Northern Seas* (y).

At this Period, it may be necessary to acquaint the Reader that *Anthony Jenkinson*, whose former Enter-
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(x) Camdeni Annales, V. 1. p. 86.

(y) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 448,
449.

prizes have been already mentioned (x), made his second Voyage to *Muscovy*, and from thence to *Persia*. On the fourteenth of May, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty-one, He departed from *Gravesend*, with the *Swallow*, and two other Ships, fitted out by the Society of *Merchant-Adventurers*. On the fourteenth of July, He arrived at the Bay of *Saint Nicholas*, in *Russia*. In a Fortnight afterwards, He quitted his little Fleet, and proceeded by Land towards *Vologda*, which He reached on the eighth of August, and having only waited for one of his Boats, laden with a Chest of Jewels, and other magnificent Presents from the *Merchant-Adventurers*, to the Czar of *Muscovy*, continued his Journey, and came to *Moscow*, on the twentieth of the same Month. At this Capital, He was detained until the twenty-seventh of April, in the following Year, by the unworthy Artifices of the Secretary of State who, having conceived an insurmountable Aversion to the *English*, prevented Him, during a Length of Time from being admitted to an Audience, and even after He had obtained it, withheld, for several Weeks, the necessary Passports, and Letters of Licence for his Departure, through the Territories of the Czar, to *Persia* (a).

Jenkinson now continued his Voyage down the *Volga*, to *Astracan*, where He arrived on the tenth of June. Here, He embarked on the fifteenth of the following Month, and crossed the *Caspian Sea*, for *Derbent*, a City belonging to the *Sophy* of *Persia*, and in the Latitude of forty-one Degrees. From thence, He sailed *South-East*, and *South-South-East*, arriving on the sixth of August, at his intended landing Port of *Shabran*, a City

(x) See the Conclusion of the Reign of Mary.

(a) Harris's Collection, Part 1. p. 521.—Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 343.—Lediard's Naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 138.

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City subject to the King of *Hyrcania*. Here, He disembarked, and secured his Goods within a Tent, whilst the Governor, by whom he was generously treated, dispatched a Messenger to the Court at *Shirwan*, with the News of his Arrival. On the twelfth of the same Month, the King sent forty-five Camels for the Conveyance of his Goods, and a sufficient Number of Horses for Himself, and his Associates. Thus equipped, They departed from *Shabran*, and, on the eighteenth, arrived at *Shirwan*. On the Day following, *Jenkinson* was conducted to the King, who, then, resided at the Distance of twenty Miles from the City, on the Mountains, and under Tents, the most convenient Shelter from the Violence of the Heat. By this Prince He was graciously received, and indulged with every Favour which He demanded. In the Work (b) to which We are indebted for these Materials, the curious Reader will find every minute Particular relating to that liberal Attention which was paid to our Adventurer. It is, therefore, sufficient to observe that after an Audience of Leave with the King of *Hyrcania*, He returned to *Shirwan*, where He resided, until the sixth of October, engaged in procuring Camels, Horses, and other Necessaries, for his intended Journey to *Tauris*, and *Casbin*, in *Persia*.

Passing by the Former, He, on the second of November, arrived at the Latter, where the *Sophy* then kept his Court. Here, a *Turk*, employed in the Character of Ambassador from the *Grand Signor*, alarmed at the Appearance of a Competitor in Traffic, used every Mean within his Power to obstruct his Negotiations. *Jenkinson* was, notwithstanding, admitted to an Audience, and, on the twentieth of the same Month, delivered to the *Sophy*, the Letters, and Pre-

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(b) Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 350.

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V. 1. p. 138.

sents from the Queen. His Reception was widely different from that at *Shirwan*; and if the King of *Hyrkania*, and his Son, who were then on a Visit at the Court of *Casbin*, had not interfered He, and his Associates would have fallen a Sacrifice to the Jealousy of the *Turk*, and have been reduced to Slavery, and sent as Presents to the *Grand Signor*.

Still struggling, with a manly Perseverance, to surmount the Difficulties which surrounded Him, *Jenkinson* resided at *Casbin*, during the whole Winter. At length, having concluded, in the Name of his Sovereign, his public Negotiations with the *Sophy* of *Persia*, and executed the Commissions relating to his private Trade, He directed his Attendants to set out before Him, with his Camels, and quitted a Place where He had Reason to tremble for his Safety, on the twentieth of the Month of March, in the Year one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty-three. It was with Difficulty that the *Sophy* would permit Him to depart; yet, at his Dismissal, He presented Him with a sumptuous Garment, composed of Cloth of Gold.

On the thirtieth of the same Month, He arrived at the City of *Ardouil*, and, on the fifteenth of April, proceeded to *Zavat*, where the King of *Hyrkania* then kept his Court. From this generous Prince, He not only received the most flattering Testimonies of Esteem, but the Grant of a Privilege for the Benefit of the Company of *Merchant-Adventurers*, of which the following is a Translation (c).

"We, *Ohdowlowcan*, by the mighty Power of God,
"MAKER of Heaven, and of Earth, appointed, and
"now reigning King of *Shirwan*, and *Hircan*, of Our
"mere Motion, and great Goodness, at the earnest
"Suit,

(c) Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 352.

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"Suit, and Request of Our favoured, and well-be-
 "loved *Anthony Jenkinson*, Ambassador, having given,
 "and granted unto the Right-Worshipful, Sir *Wil-*
 "*liam Garret*, Sir *William Chester*, Sir *Thomas Lodge*,
 "Mr. *Richard Mallary*, and Mr. *Richard Chamberlain*,
 "with all their Company of *Merchants-Adventurers*,
 "of the City of *London*, in *England*, free Liberty,
 "safe Conduct, and Licence, to come, or send their
 "Factors, in Trade of Merchandize, into Our Coun-
 "tries, and to buy, and sell with Our Merchants, and
 "Others, either for Ready Money, or Barter, and
 "to tarry, and abide in Our Country, so long as
 "They will, and to go away when They list, with-
 "out Impediment, Let, or Hinderance, either of
 "Body, or of Goods."

"And farther, Our Commandment, and Pleasure
 "is, that the said *English* Merchants, with their Com-
 "pany, shall pay no Manner of Custom for their
 "Wares, which They, or their Factors shall buy, or
 "sell within Our Dominions. And, if at any Time,
 "Our Customers, or other Officers, or any of Them
 "do disturb, misuse, force, or constrain the said *Eng-*
 "*lish* Merchants, or any of Them, or their Factors,
 "to pay any Manner of Custom, or Duty, for any
 "Wares which They bring in, or carry out of Our
 "Dominions, contrary to this Our Commandment,
 "and the same be known unto Us, then We will that
 "the said Customers, and Officers shall lose, and be
 "put out of their said Offices, with Our farther Dis-
 "pleasure, and the said *English* Merchants to have re-
 "stored all such Money, and Wares as Our Custom-
 "ers have taken of Them for Our said Custom. And
 "whosoever the said *English* Merchants, or their
 "Factors shall bring any Manner of Wares meet for
 "Our Treasury, then Our Treasurer shall take the

" said Wares into Our Treasury, and shall give unto
 " the said *English* Merchants, either ready Money, or
 " raw Silks, to the Value of their said Wares. And
 " wheresoever this Our Letter of Privileges shall be
 " seen, and read within Our Dominions, We straight-
 " ly will, and command that it take Effect, and be
 " obeyed in all Points."

" Dated at Our Palace, at *Zarat*, sealed with Our
 " princely Seal, and signed by our Secretary, in the
 " twelfth Year of our Reign."

Altho it appears from *Hackluyt* that this Privilege was made out on the fourteenth of April, yet it is certain that He did not arrive at *Zarat*, until the following Day. Having remained in this City during a Week, He returned to *Shabran*, from whence He sent his Goods on Camels towards the Borders of the *Caspian* Sea, and repaired thither soon afterwards. On the thirtieth of March, He reached *Astracan*, where He resided until the tenth of June. He then sailed up the River *Volga*, against the Stream, entered *Casan* on the fifteenth of July, and, on the twentieth of August, arrived at *Moscow*.

It was not only in Favour of the *English*, and, particularly, of the Society of *Merchant-Adventurers* that *Jenkinson* proved successful in his commercial Negotiations. The *Czar* had presented Him with a Permission to traffic on his own Account, and seemed extremely satisfied when He shewed Him his Returns of Jewels, and wrought Silks of divers Sorts, and Colours. The Kings of *Hyrcania*, and *Georgia* likewise conferred on Him exclusive Powers of trading to the Court of *Moscow*. Here, He resided during the whole Winter, and so happily availed Himself of every Opportunity to obtain the Favour of the *Czar*, that He received a Grant from this Prince, of Privileges
 more

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more ample than the Former. On the eighth of June, in the Year one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty-four, He departed from *Moscow*, and embarking on the ninth of July, on Board the *Swallow*, at *Calmogre*, arrived on the twenty-eighth of the Month of September following, at *London*.

We shall omit, on Account of their great Length, the Insertion of the Queen's Letters to the *Czar* of *Muscovy*, and to the *Sophy* of *Persia*, together with the Instructions given by the Merchant-Adventurers for his Conduct, during the Voyage. The Servants of this Company, *Thomas Alcock*, *George Wren*, and *Richard Chenie*, had been sent by *Jenkinson*, (previous to his Departure from *Moscow*,) on an Expedition to *Casbin*, in *Persia*. The Relation of their Adventures corresponds, in most Particulars, with the Facts already mentioned. Suffice it, therefore, to observe that the Reception which They met with from the King of *Hyrcania* was less gracious than that experienced by *Jenkinson*. *Wren*, and *Chenie* returned to *England*, but *Alcock* was slain on the Road, between *Levassla*, and *Shirwan*. The Occasion of his Death is differently told: In one Account, He is observed to have been attacked by Robbers. In another, it is asserted that He was murdered by Russians, whom a Nobleman had hired, for that Purpose, in Order to revenge a supposed Affront which He had received when *Alcock* earnestly demanded from Him a Debt claimed by the Merchant-Adventurers, in *England* (d).

The virulent Animosities which had prevailed amongst the Catholics, and Huguenots, in *France*, were, at length, extended beyond the Confines of that distracted State, and interrupted the Repose of neighbouring Powers. The Professors of either Religion, who lived

(d) Harris's Collection, Part 1. p. 524.

near the Coasts, had fitted out Ships, for the Purpose of exterminating their Adversaries, on the Seas; and in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty, so daringly inconsiderate were these Pirates in the Commission of Hostilities, that They took the Vessels belonging to neutral Ports, and would not even suffer the *English* Merchantmen to proceed in Safety on their Voyages. At this Period, *Elizabeth* (who was sensible of the Necessity of interposing, not only for the Protection to Commerce, but in Defence of the Adherents to the reformed Religion,) gave a favourable Reception to the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, and *Briguemaut*, who had been dispatched to *London*, by the Prince of *Condé*, to solicit her Assistance against the united Forces of the *Catholics*. The *Huguenots* who were then in Possession of the greater Part of *Normandy*, offered to surrender *Havre de Grace* (called *Newhaven*), to the Queen, on Condition that She should reinforce its Garrison with a Body of Troops amounting to three thousand Men, employ an equal Number for the Defence of *Dieppe*, and *Rouen*, and advance the Sum of an hundred thousand Crowns to the Prince of *Condé*. *Elizabeth* accepted of these Proposals, and on the twentieth of September, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty-two, *Ambrose Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*, and eldest Son of the late Duke of *Northumberland*, arrived with a considerable Fleet, and the stipulated Number of Troops, at *Havre*, a Port which commanded the Mouth of the *Seine*, and was, in several Respects, of more Importance than the Fortrefs of *Calais*. This Place was maintained until the twenty-eighth of July, in the following Year, when it was stormed, and, after a feeble Resistance, yielded to the *French*, who suffered *Warwick* to capitulate, and withdraw his Garrison. The Facility with which the Besiegers obtained this Victory was not owing either to the Pusillanimity,

or bad Conduct of the Governor, and his Forces. Disease, Fatigue, and a Scarcity of Provisions had made more Ravages amongst Them than the Sword. Of the Plague, more than a hundred Soldiers had, sometimes, perished in a Day, and, at the last, the Number of Men capable of doing Duty did not amount to fifteen hundred. The Articles of Capitulation were scarcely signed, when the *English* Fleet, under the Command of the High Admiral, the Lord *Clinton*, who had been detained by contrary Winds, appeared off the Harbour, with a powerful Reinforcement. As He arrived too late to be of Service to the Earl of *Warwick*, He waited only to receive that Officer, and his Garrison, on Board. This Circumstance proved, in the End, more fatal than the Loss of *Havre*. The infected Troops spread the Plague, on their Return, over many Parts of *England*, and, during the Course of the following Year, more than twenty thousand Persons died of it, within the City of *London* (e).

From the Moment that the *English* Troops had taken Possession of *Havre*, the Court of *France* declared that all Ships in the Service of *Elizabeth* should be considered as lawful Prizes, so long as She held that Port. In Consequence of this Measure, the Queen issued a Proclamation, encouraging her Subjects to a Retaliation of Hostilities, and such Numbers of Privateers were fitted out from the Harbours in *England*, and from *Havre*, that Multitudes of Adventurers, too formidable to be effectually resisted, became rich by the Frequency of their Success. We learn from an Historian of respect-

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(e) Forbes's State Papers, V. 2. p. 48, 377, 498.—F. Leonard, V. 2. p. 571.—Davila, Lib. 3.—Thuan. Lib. 33. Sect. 4.—Strype's Annals, V. 1. p. 367.—Lord Burleigh's Diary, in Murdin's Collection, p. 753, 754.

able Authority (*f*) that one *Francis Clarke* equipped, at his own Expence, three Frigates, and after a Cruize of six Weeks, brought into *Harve* no less than eighteen Prizes, which were valued at upwards of fifty thousand Pounds. A naval Writer (*g*) observes that *Elizabeth* was the more zealous in promoting this enterprizing Spirit of her Subjects, as it contributed to the Increase, and Importance of the Marine, and prevented the rival Powers from gaining that Ascendency at Sea, which might certainly have been more within their Reach, if in Order to redress the Affronts offered to the Nation, She had proposed rather to treat with *France*, than to employ an Armament against it. An injured maritime State, if in the Plenitude of its Power, instead of expostulating flies immediately to Reprisals, and thus extorts Apologies from those Aggressors whom Defeats have rendered sensible of their Errors.

Yet, in Process of Time, the Rage for privateering was carried to such alarming Lengths, that *Elizabeth*, consulting her own Safety, and the Honour of the Kingdom, judged it necessary to restrain it by a Proclamation enforcing severe Penalties against all Offenders, and, likewise to send an Ambassador extraordinary to *Philip*, with Directions to inform Him of those Circumstances which might plead in Extenuation of the past Hostilities (*h*).

In July, of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty-two, Sir *William Woodhouse*, Knight, and Vice-Admiral of *England*, was appointed to the Command of a small Squadron of Ships, the *Lion*, the *Hope*,

(*f*) Stowe's Annals, p. 653.—See also Hollingshed, V. 2. p. 1196.—Camden, V. 1. p. 94.—Speed, p. 835.

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 450.

(*h*) Camdeni Annales Eliz. V. 1. p. 98.

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Hope, the *Hart*, and the *Swallow*, together with a Bark, named the *Hare*. The Destination of this Armament was, according to public Report, for the Protection of the narrow Seas, at that Period, much infested by the Pirates; but in his private Instructions, the chief Object of his Enterprize was an Attempt to assist the Malcontents in *France*, by every Method within his power. In the Month of November following, the *Hart*, the *Swallow*, and the *Hare*, were, by the Direction of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the High-Admiral, Lord *Clinton*, stationed near *Portsmouth*, not only for the Security of the Coast, and to keep the Channel clear, during the Winter, but for the Conveniency of transporting Troops, Money, Provisions, and Ammunition, to *Havre* (i). On her Passage to this Place, the *Hare*, on Board of which was Sir *John Portinarius*, a skilful Engineer, was attacked by a *French* Ship of more than ninety Tons Burthen. After an obstinate Engagement, the Latter, richly freighted with Wine, was taken, and carried into *Havre*, on the twenty-fifth of the same Month (k).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty-five, *Richard Johnson*, *Alexander Kitching*, and *Arthur Edwards*, Servants to the *Russian* Company, made a third Voyage over the *Caspian* Sea to *Persia*, and obtained from the *Sophy* a Grant of Privileges during their commercial Intercourse with that Country (l).

In December, of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty-six, Mr. *George Fenner*, appointed

(i) Hayne's State Papers, p. 394.—Forbes's State Papers, V. 2. p. 171.

(k) Stowe's Annals, p. 652.—Hollingshed, V. 2. p. 1197.

—Strype's Annals, V. 1. p. 367.

(l) Harris's Collection, Part 1. p. 524.

ed to the Command of three Ships, and a Pinnace, departed from *Plymouth*, on his Voyage to *Guinea*, and the *Cape de Verde* Islands. During the Passage, one of the Vessels separated from the Rest, and, arriving off *Tercera*, was attacked by a *Portuguese* Squadron, amounting to seven Sail, of which One was of the Burthen of four Hundred Tons, and equipped with three hundred Men. Against all These, the Captain, and his intrepid Crew detended their single Ship for the Space of two Days, and, at length, compelled the Enemy to decline the Action, and return ingloriously to their Harbour (m).

On the fourth of May, in the same Year, Captain *Anthony Jenkinson*, whose Enterprizes have been already mentioned proceeded from *Gravesend*, in the *Harry*, of *London*, on his third Voyage to *Muscovy*. He arrived in the Bay of *Saint Nicholas*, on the tenth of July, and on the twenty-third of August, at *Moscow*, where, in the Character of Envoy from *Elizabeth*, He delivered his Credentials to the *Czar*. Having executed his Commission, He, in the following Year, returned to *England*, with the Ambassadors from *Russia*, who confirmed, and renewed the Privileges granted by their Sovereign to the Company of *English* Merchants, trading to the State of *Muscovy* (n).

At this Period, the commercial Intercourse between *England*, and the *Netherlands* was on the Brink of being annihilated by the Intrigues of the Cardinal de *Granville*, who, concluding that the *Low-Countries* would shortly be exposed to the Horrors of an intestine War, became anxious to accomplish the Expulsion of the *English*, and had even succeeded in prevailing on the

(m) Hackluyt, Part 2.

(n) Camden.—Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 372.

the Governess (o) to forbid the Importation of their Cloths. Alarmed at these Proceedings, the *English* retired, with Precipitation, to *Emden*, a Town of *East Friesland*, where they established a Staple for their Manufactures. On the Death of the Bishop of *Aquila*, the King of *Spain* had appointed *Don Diego Gusman de Sylva*, a Canon of *Toledo*, his Ambassador to *Elizabeth*. This Minister, aware that the Interruption of Commerce, although highly detrimental to the *English*, would prove equally injurious to the Subjects of his Sovereign, obtained Permission to recommend, and, had the good Fortune to procure a mutual Agreement, on the Part of *Philip*, and the Queen, that the *Great Intercourse* established under the Reign of *Maximilian* should subsist, until One of the Parties notified the contrary to the other, with the Allowances of forty Days to the Merchants for the Purpose of withdrawing their Effects (p). The Settlement of this Affair must have been equally important to both Nations, whose commercial Dealings are rated, by a contemporary Author (q), at the yearly Income of above twelve Millions of Gold, one Half of which is mentioned to have arisen from the woollen Trade. It is added that this Branch had proved to the *Netherlands* more than an imaginary golden Fleece, and gave Rise to the celebrated Order so called, and instituted in the Year, one Thousand, four Hundred, and Twenty-nine (r).

Without entering into Particulars, it will be sufficient to observe that the tyrannical Abolition, under *Philip*, of all the Privileges granted to the *Flemings*, by their former Sovereigns, was, in one Respect, a fortunate

(o) The Dutchess of Parma.

(p) Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 15. p. 639.

(q) Camden, p. 395.

(r) Ibid.

nate Event for *England*, and by forcing the most skilful and industrious Inhabitants of the *Netherlands* to apply for Shelter to *Elizabeth*, proved the Means of establishing, within her Dominions, those Manufactures which were unknown to the Majority of her Subjects. At this Period (*1*), *Ferdinand*, of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, a brave, and experienced Officer, but a rigid Disciplinarian, and pleased to execute a Commission so suited to his natural Barbarity, and Insolence, was dispatched by *Philip*, at the Head of a formidable Body of *Spanish* Veterans, to assume the Government of the *Netherlands*, and exterminate the Protestants. Towards the Close of the Year, some *Genese*, and *Italian* Merchants had entered into a Contract with *Philip*, for the Settlement of a Bank in *Flanders*, and agreed to transport thither the Sum of four hundred thousand Crowns. The Money was embarked in Vessels belonging to the Province of *Biscay*, and These were attacked in the Channel, by some Privateers fitted out by the *French Huguenots*, and obliged to take Refuge within the Harbours of *Plymouth*, *Falmouth*, and *Southampton*. *Elizabeth*, on the first Notice of this Event, gave Orders to the Magistrates of the Towns, to treat the Spaniards with Civility, and protect their Vessels. In the mean Time, the Ambassador from the Court of *Spain* informed the Queen that the Money was the Property of his Sovereign, and obtained her Permission to have it brought on Shore.

The Cardinal *de Chatillon*, at that Time, a Refugee within the Kingdom, assured *Elizabeth* that this Money did not belong, as was pretended, to the King of *Spain*, but to private Merchants; and that, if She allowed the Transportation of it to the *Netherlands*, the Duke of *Alva* would certainly seize, and appropriate it to the

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(1) 1568.

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Expences of the War. The Queen, yielding to the Advice of *Cecil*, took Possession of it as a Loan, and promised either to repay it to the King of *Spain*, in the Moment that it should actually appear to be his Treasure, or to compensate the *Genoese* Merchants, if it belonged to Them, with lawful Interest, for the Time which She had kept it (1). The King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Alva*, deprived of these Resources, in their utmost Need, were intent on the most sanguinary Projects of Revenge. *Philip* endeavoured to bribe the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the earl of *Ormond* to excite both the *English*, and *Irish*, to Rebellion. In this Attempt and That to procure the Assassination of *Cecil*, He was equally disappointed. *Alva* imprisoned all the *English* Merchants within the *Netherlands*, and seized on their Effects, directing, at the same Time, his Frigates, and the *Spanish* Privateers, to cruize about the Channel, and avail Themselves of every Opportunity, to take, or destroy the Vessels belonging to the Subjects of *Elizabeth* (u). The Queen made Reprisals in her Turn, treated the *Flemish*, and *Spanish* Merchants with a like Severity, and allowed the *English* to fit out Ships for the Purpose of attacking Them on the Seas. In Consequence of this Liberty, the Spirit of Privateering was again carried to unwarrantable Lengths. Complaints were lodged before the Council, that the Adventurers, eager in the Pursuit of Captures, had indiscriminately attacked their Friends, and Enemies. To check these Violences, a Proclamation was immediately issued, forbidding

(1) Stowe, p. 662.—Camden, V. 1. p. 175.—Bentivoglio, Part 1. Lib. 5.—Thuan. Lib. 44. Sect. 11.—M. Turquet, V. 2. p. 432.

(u) Lord Burleigh's Diary, in Murdin's Collection, p. 766, 767.—Bentivoglio, Part 1. Lib. 5.

bidding all Persons whatsoever to purchase any Ship, or Cargoes, taken by the Privateers (x).

This Warfare was afterwards succeeded by an amicable Treaty, and the Merchants of each Party received a full Satisfaction for their Losses. The Inconveniences to which the *Spanish* Government in the *Netherlands* was exposed by this judicious Detention of the Money, proved, notwithstanding irrepairable. The Duke of *Alva*, bereft of pecuniary Supplies, and alarmed lest his Soldiers should mutiny for Want of Pay, imposed the most oppressive Taxes on the People. He demanded the hundredth Penny, the twentieth of all immoveable, and the tenth of all moveable Goods on every Sale. The Reader need not be told that if this last Exaction had been enforced, the Commerce with *England*, and with every other Country, must have been totally destroyed. But the *Flemings* refused to submit to so inhuman a Tax; and *Alva*, equally ferocious, and impolitic, repaid their Obstinacy with Torture and with Death (y).

It was not alone throughout the Kingdom of *Spain*, and the *Netherlands*, that the *English* Commerce seemed likely to be suppressed. Equal Dangers had threatened it in *Muscovy*, where the *Czar* was exceedingly exasperated at the Avarice of the Merchants. The Trade to this Empire, and from thence to the adjacent Country was increased, at the Accession of *Elizabeth*, to a considerable Degree. The *Czar* had conferred on the Merchants associated under the Title of the *Muscovy* Company, an Exemption from all Customs, and a Permission to expose their Manufactures to Sale, in every Part of his Dominions, and to transport Them into *Persia*.

(x) Murdin's State Papers, p. 257, 274.

(y) Bentivoglio, Part 1. Lib. 5.—Camden, p. 416.

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Persia, and *Media*, by the *Caspian Sea*. These Liberties were not granted to the Merchants of other Nations, who were forbidden to trade beyond the Boundaries of *Moscow*. Excited by such Encouragements, the *English* ventured to convey their Goods, in Boats built of one intire Tree, on the River *Dwina*, to *Volgda*. From thence, They travelled by Land, in seven Days, to *Yereslow*; and afterwards falling down the River, sailed by the *Volga*, during thirty Days, and Nights, until They reached *Astracan*, where They were accustomed to build their Ships. From *Astracan*, They crossed the *Caspian Sea*, and proceeded through the vast Deserts of *Hyrcania*, and *Bactriana*, to *Teverin*, and *Casbin*, in Hopes of discovering *Cathay*. Here, however, They concluded their important Enterprize, afraid of travelling through a Country, where the *Turks*, and *Persians* were at War, and the *Barbarians* had no Resource but Robbery for their Subsistence.

To terminate the Differences which had arisen between the *Czar*, and the *English Society*, *Elizabeth* sent Sir *Thomas Randolph*, on an Embassy to *Moscow*. During his Residence at the Court, He had the good Fortune, not only to appease the Resentment of the *Czar*, but to obtain from that Potentate a Grant of new, and extensive Privileges, for the Company of *English Merchants*, trading to *Russia* (z). This was confirmed by a personal Alliance, for the Conclusion of which, *Andrew Gregoriwitz Sovima* attended Sir *Thomas Randolph*, to *England*, and, in the Character of Plenipotentiary from the *Czar*, was graciously received by *Elizabeth*, and magnificently entertained by the Citizens of *London*. During his Audience at Court, He presented a Treaty written in *Russian Characters*, to

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(z) Harris, Part 1. p. 527.—Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 378.
—A. D. 1569.

the Queen, and desired that it might be confirmed (by private Letters,) in the very same Words, in his Presence, and translated into the *Russian* Tongue, and ratified not only by the Hand, and Seal, but by the Oath of *Elizabeth*, who was, likewise, intreated to send, forthwith, an Ambassador to *Russia*, in Order that He might receive private Letters from the Emperor, to the same Purpose, and signed with his Hand, and Seal, the Ceremony of saluting the Cross, being performed, at the same Time, in his Presence (a).

The Queen signed the Treaty with a Clause of Reserve. "So far as She might lawfully do it, without Prejudice to any Contracts, made with other Princes, to support, and aid one another against the Common Enemy, and so far as might be no Infringement of Law, or Right." In the Presence of the *Russian* Ambassador, and the chief Members of the Privy-Council, *Elizabeth* confirmed under her Hand, and Seal, a solemn Declaration that in Case either public Wars, or private Treachery should reduce the *Czar* to the Necessity of forsaking his Dominions, She would receive, and generously entertain Him, and his whole Family, assign to Them a convenient Residence, allow Them the free Use of their Religion, and permit Them to depart, whensoever They might think proper.

So gracious an Attention was far from satisfying the capricious Inclinations of a Tyrant who had been accustomed to have his Pleasure considered as superior to all Law. He wrote a Letter to the Queen, and after having expatiated on the Instances of his Bounty to the *English*, and accused Them of Ingratitude, complained, in bitter Terms, that She had not sent her Ambassador to receive his Oath, and taxed Her with hav-

ing

(a) Camden, p. 417, 418.

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ing neglected his Concerns, and (what He deemed below the Dignity of a Sovereign,) endeavoured solely to promote the Interests of her Merchants. From this Period, imagining that the *English* were less zealous to support the Reputation of their Prince, than to enrich Themselves, and apprehensive that their Connections with his Subjects might induce Them to unite in a Conspiracy against Him, He threatened to revoke those commercial Privileges which they had hitherto enjoyed in *Russia*. But *Jenkinson* who, soon afterwards, resided at his Court, in the Character of an Ambassador, not only dissuaded Him from proceeding to Extremities, but procured a Grant of Immunities to Those who might repair to his Dominions, from *England*, with Articles of Traffic (b).

It must, however, be observed that these Immunities were conferred subsequent to the following Letter, (addressed to the *Czar*), which We insert, not only as it contains the Account of a Sea-Engagement, but because it proves that the *English* Merchants were for some Time, debarred of the Liberty to trade in *Muscovy* (c).

Most Mighty Emperour, &c.

" Sir *William Gerrard*, and his Fellowship, the
 " Company of *English* Merchants, having, this last
 " Winter, sent hither to the *Narve*, three Ships, laden
 " with Merchandize, which were left here, and with
 " Them, *Christopher Hodsdon*, a Member of that Society, and their chief Factor in this Place, who
 " when He came first hither, and during the Time
 " He was dispatching those Ships from hence, was in
 " Hopes of Goods to load twelve, or thirteen Sail of
 " M a good good

(b) Camden, p. 417, 418.—Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 401.

(c) Ibid.

" good Ships, against this Shipping ; He, therefore,
 " wrote to the said *William Gerrard*, and his Com-
 " pany, to send hither, this Spring, the Number of
 " thirteen Ships. And because that in his Voyage hi-
 " ther, He found there were *Free-booters* (or Pyrates)
 " on the Seas, and believing They would this Year
 " be very strong, He advised Sir *William*, and the
 " Company, to furnish that Number of Ships, in such
 " Manner, that They might be able to withstand the
 " Force of the *Free-booters*. According to this Advice,
 " They sent, this Year, thirteen good Ships together,
 " well furnished with Men, and Munition, and other
 " Necessaries of War. Of these thirteen Ships, *Wil-*
 " *liam Burrough*, one of the Society, is Captain Ge-
 " neral, whose Orders are, that if He meet with any
 " of the *Danish Free-booters*, or any other Robbers,
 " who are Enemies to Your Highness, He shall do his
 " best to apprehend, and take Them. It happened,
 " that, the tenth of this Month, the said *William*,
 " with his Fleet, met with six Ships of the *Free-booters*
 " near unto an Island called *Tuttee*, which is about
 " fifty *Vouts* (a *Muscovite* Measure of near a Quarter
 " of a League,) from *Narwe*, to which He gave Chace,
 " with his Fleet, and took their Admiral ; In which,
 " however, He found but three Men, the Rest being
 " fled on Shore, with their Boats, upon which He set
 " Fire to the Ship, and burnt Her. He also took four
 " more of those Ships, which are now here, but the
 " other Ship escaped Him. Out of these four Ships,
 " Some of the Men escaped, in their Boats, Others
 " were slain in the Fight, and Some, when They saw
 " there was no Possibility of their escaping, cast Them-
 " selves voluntarily into the Sea, and were drowned ;
 " So that of all the Men of these five Ships, only eigh-
 " ty-three were left.

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“ When *William Burrough* came hither, to *Narve*,
 “ finding here *Christopher Hadson*, both *Christopher*,
 “ and *William* together, in the Name of Sir *William*
 “ *Gerrard*, and their whole Company, did present unto
 “ Your Highness eighty-two of these Men, which We
 “ delivered here unto *Knez Voivoda*, the thirteenth of
 “ this Month. One, whose Name is *Hans-Snark*, a
 “ Captain, We have kept, at the earnest Request of
 “ above fifty of our Men, on their Knees, because Some
 “ of Them having been taken by the *Free-booters*,
 “ They had by his Means, their Lives saved, and re-
 “ ceived several other Favours at his Hands. Where-
 “ fore, if it please Your Highness to permit it, We
 “ will carry Him Home with us to *England*; wherein
 “ We request Your Majesty’s Favour: Notwithstand-
 “ ing, what You command of Him shall be observed.
 “ We have also sent our Servant to Your Highness
 “ with such *Bestellings*, (*Dispatches*) and Writings as
 “ We found in those Ships: Whereby Your Majesty
 “ may see by whom, and in what Order, They were
 “ set out, and what They pretended, which Writings
 “ We have recommended unto *Knez Torice*, Your
 “ Majesty’s *Voivoda*, at *Plasco*, by our Servant. And
 “ have requested his Furtherance, for the safe Deli-
 “ very of Them to Your Majesty’s Hands. Which
 “ Writings, when You have perused, We desire that
 “ They may be returned unto us, by this our Servant,
 “ as speedily as may be: For these Ships which We
 “ now have here will be soon dispatched from hence;
 “ Because We have not Goods, to load above the
 “ Half of Them. The Reason of which is, that We
 “ have, this Winter, (by Your Majesty’s Orders)
 “ been kept from trafficking, to the Company’s great
 “ Loss. But hoping Your Majesty will hereafter have
 “ Consideration thereof, and that We may have free

" Liberty to traffick, in all Parts of Your Majesty's
 " Dominions, according to the Privilege given unto
 " us, We pray for Your Majesty's Health, with prof-
 " perous Success to the Pleasure of GOD. From
 " Narve, the fifteenth of July, Anno, 1570.

Your Majesty's most humble, and Obedient Servants,

CHRISTOPHER HODSDON.

WILLIAM BURROUGH.

About this Time (*d*), *Arthur Edwards*, Agent, *Laurence Chapman*, and other Servants of the *Russian* Company, made a fourth Voyage to *Persia*, where They were presented, by the *Sophy*, with an Instrument written in Letters of Gold, and Azure, and formally investing Them with new Privileges, which effectually removed the Abuses, until that Period, obstructing the Progress of their Commerce, and secured to Them a Multitude of Advantages which they had not hitherto enjoyed (*e*). *Thomas Bannister*, and *Geoffrey Duckett*, employed also in the Service of the Company, proceeded on a similar Expedition. In July, of the same Year, They embarked at *Terslanu*, in the *Thomas Bonaventure*, of seventy Tons Burthen, and manned with thirteen *English*, and forty *Russian*. On their Approach towards *Astracan*, three hundred of the *Nagayan Tartars*, armed with Swords, Spears, Bows, and Arrows, surrounded their Vessel, with eighteen large Boats, and immediately attacked it. The Engagement lasted during two Hours, and the *Tartars* were so galled by the continual Discharge of Fire-Arms, that They were obliged to retire, after losing two hundred of their Associates. Having obtained this Victory, the *English* pursued their Course, and arrived in *Persia*, where They

conti-

(*d*) 1568.

(*e*) Harris's Collection, Part 1. p. 525, &c.

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continued until the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-three, enjoying all the Advantages which could result from an uninterrupted Liberty of Commerce. Whilst They resided in this Kingdom, the *Sophy* paid a Compliment to the Profession of Commerce, at the Expence of revealing his own Crimes. Intending to transport a considerable Sum of Money to *Mecca*, in *Arabia*, as an Offering to *Mahomet*, He desired the *English* Merchants to accept of an equal Quantity of *his* Coin, in Return for the Money of *their* Country, asserting that his own pecuniary Possessions were acquired by such Fraud, Oppression, and dishonest Means as rendered them unworthy to be applied to holy Purposes, but that the Money amassed by the Merchants was the Reward of Integrity, and a fit Oblation to that Prophet in whom there was no Vice (*f*). On the eighth of May, They sailed, with their Cargo, from *Bibil*, on the *Caspian* Sea, and were detained by contrary Winds, until the twenty-seventh of the same Month, when They anchored on the Flats. Here, They imprudently permitted an hundred, and fifty *Russian* *Cossacks* (who came along Side in Boats, and protested that their Designs were peaceable,) to enter within the Vessel. No sooner were these Outlaws all on Board, than They drew their Sabres, and killed several of the *Russians*. The *English*, encouraged by *Ducket*, made a long, and gallant Resistance, under the Spar-Deck, where They scoured the Hatches, killing fourteen of the *Cossacks*, and wounding about thirty more. They were at last overpowered by superior Numbers, and obliged to capitulate, and surrender the Ship, and Cargo, in Order to preserve their Lives. An eighth Part of the Freight, was afterwards discovered in a deep Pit (*g*).

At

(*f*) Harris.

(*g*) Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 389, &c.

At this Period, when the *Spaniards*, and the *English* were far from being reconciled, and seemed impatient, amidst a contentious Peace, for the Renewal of the War, *Elizabeth* attended, with unwearied Zeal, to the Interests of Commerce, and the Augmentation of her Fleets. Although engaged in Preparations for that Rupture which was regarded as inevitable, She wisely embraced all Opportunities to convince *Philip* of her Aversion from Hostilities; and even when She had no Doubts remaining of the implacable Resentment, and Perfidy of this Prince, She equipped a powerful Squadron, which under the Command of the Lord Admiral *Howard*, (who was attended by several of the Nobility) proceeded (*h*) to *Zealand*, and from thence escorted into *Spain*, *Anne of Austria*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian*, and Niece of *Philip*, to whom She was betrothed in Marriage (*i*). With equal Policy, *Elizabeth* affected to believe the Professions of Attachment which had been made to Her by the King of *France*, and not only permitted the Renewal of the Negotiations for her Marriage with his Brother, the Duke of *Alençon*, but stood Godmother to the Daughter of *Charles*, and sent the Earl of *Worcester*, to assist at the Baptism in her Name. The *Huguenots* were alarmed to observe the Queen, whom They had been accustomed to consider as the strenuous Defender of the Protestant Religion, engaging in a spiritual Alliance with their bitterest Persecutor. At this Juncture, it was more the private Interest of *Elizabeth* to dissemble with the Court of *France*, and declare that She intended to maintain the League inviolable, than abruptly to oppose

(*h*) 1570.

(*i*) Camdeni Annales, V. 2. p. 220, 221.—Ferraras Hist. de España, Part 15. Sect. 16.—Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations, p. 22.

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pose the combined Power of the Catholics. When a formidable naval Armament, in the Service of the *French*, was stationed (*k*), for a considerable Time, between *Bordeaux*, and *Rochelle*, She judged it necessary, without immediately disclaiming the pretended Friendship of her Enemies, to stand more upon her Guard; and, accordingly, fortified *Portsmouth*, put the Navy on a respectable Establishment, assembled the Militia, pursued the most coercive Measures for the Reduction of the *Scots* who had opposed their young King, and the reformed Religion, endeavoured by every innocent Artifice to secure the Affection of her Subjects, and renewed her Alliance with the *German* Princes, who were equally alarmed at the insidious, and sanguinary Proceedings of the *Romanists* (*l*).

The Temerity of the *Huguenots* who, eager to avenge their Wrongs, were not restrained by any Considerations, in the Commission of Hostilities, had, on one Occasion, exposed Them to the Repentment of *Elizabeth*. When this Princess was informed that a Privateer equipped at *Rochelle*, and cruising in the Service of the *Huguenots*, had attacked, and, after an Engagement, in which three of the *English* were killed, taken a Vessel freighted with Part of the Baggage belonging to the Earl of *Worcester* (*m*), She sent Orders for the Security of the narrow Seas, to the Lord High Admiral, who immediately fitted out three light Frigates, and gave the Command of them to *William Holstock*, Comptroller of the Navy. This gallant Officer, assisted only by three hundred, and sixty Mariners,

cxc-

(*k*) 1572.

(*l*) Digges's Compl. Ambas. p. 245, 246, 247, 248, 297, 298.

(*m*) Stowe, p. 67.—Camden, V. 2. p. 270, 275.—P. Daniel, V. 8. p. 750.

executed his Trust with such Rapidity, and Success, that in the short Space of six Weeks, He engaged, and took between the *North-Foreland*, and *Falmouth*, twenty Privateers, on board of which were nine hundred Officers, and Seamen. All These were sent to the several Harbours of *Sandwich*, *Dover*, *Newport*, and *Portsmouth*. The Comptroller likewise retook, and set at Liberty, fifteen *Merchant-Men*, the Prizes of the Enemy. Three of the Persons belonging to the Crew who had plundered the Vessel, on Board of which was the Baggage of the Earl of *Warcester*, were discovered amongst the Prisoners brought to *Portsmouth*, and, after a formal Trial, condemned, and executed for Piracy. The Others were permitted, on the Payment of a Ransom, to depart the Kingdom (n).

The Provinces of *Holland*, and of *Zealand*, had now revolted from the *Spaniards*, and openly declared against the Tyranny of the Duke of *Alva*. As their naval Power became more formidable, They imprudently commenced Hostilities against the neutral States, and with equal Audacity, and Ingratitude, made Prizes of several Merchantmen in the Service of their most strenuous Protectors, the *English*, under Pretence that They had corresponded with the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk*, who were the declared Enemies of the *Dutch*. For some Time, They molested only those Ships which were proceeding on their Voyage to that Port. At length, grown bolder by Success, They attacked the *English* indiscriminately, and had taken a considerable Number of their Vessels, when the Comptroller of the Navy was again dispatched, with a small Squadron, in Order to chastise their Insolence. During the Cruise, He seized on several Frigates belonging to the *Hollanders*,
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(n) Holingshed, V. 2. p. 1257.—Strype's Annals, V. 2. p. 171, 172.—Thuan. Lib. 55. Sect. 8.

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compelled the Rest to take Refuge within their Harbours, and sent those Seamen who had surrendered Themselves in the different Engagements, to be disposed of in *England*, at the Mercy of *Elizabeth*. She immediately directed that They should be cast into Prison, and demanded from the States of Holland, by her Ambassadors, Sir *William Winter*, and Mr. *Robert Beale*, a full Restitution of the Cargoes taken from her Subjects. The Negotiation was not attended with Success, and the *Dutch* Factors were, in Consequence of this Refusal from their Court, severely persecuted (g).

The Oppressions suffered by the mercantile Natives of *Holland*, at this Period, residing within the Kingdom, can only be considered as single Exceptions to a general Rule. On other Occasions, unconnected with national Affronts, it was the Policy of *Elizabeth*, not only to afford an hospitable Shelter to all Protestant Refugees, but to grant the foreign Artificers such Privileges, and Immunities, as might induce Them to remain in *England*; and establish the Manufactures at which They had laboured in their own Country. Many of these Workmen had settled, with their Families, in the chief Towns, and, by the constant Exertions of Art, and Industry, increased the Commerce of the Nation. At *Norwich*, *Tarmouth*, *Colchester*, *Canterbury*, *Sandwich*, *Maidstone*, and *Southampton*, They had taught the *English* to make Baize, and weave different Stuffs in Silk, and Worsted. The *Germans*, also, in the Northern Parts of the Kingdom, instructed the Natives in the Knowledge of Mining, preparing Salt-petre, and forging the several Kinds of necessary Tools, in Iron. The Courts of *France*, and *Spain*, alarmed

(g) Stowe, p. 681.—Holingshed, V. 2. p. 1262.—Camdeni Annales, V. 2. p. 303, 304.—Grimstone's History of the Netherlands, Book 10. p. 592.

lamed at an Emigration which, whilst it struck at the Root of their own Commerce, augmented, and improved the Manufactories of *England*, endeavoured by the most violent penal Laws to detain their Artificers at Home; but this imprudent Severity served only to depopulate the Country, by accelerating the Flight of Multitudes of the Natives (p). The ambitious *Philip* perceived with equal Jealousy, and Apprehension, this fortunate Concurrence of Events which, increasing the Power of *Elizabeth*, might, in the End, defeat his Projects for the Acquisition of an almost universal Dominion throughout the different States of *Europe*. It is scarcely necessary to remind the Reader that during the Administration of the Duke of *Alva*, in the *Netherlands*, Differences had arisen between the Court of *England*, and the Subjects of *Philip*, and that in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-three, an Accommodation took Place, less on Principles of Amity, than of Policy. It was the Wish of both Parties only to avoid, or rather procrastinate a Rupture, until Each should be in Readiness to execute their Designs (q).

The King of *Spain*, intent on the Extermination of the Protestants, the Conquest of *England*, and the Destruction of *Elizabeth*, had not only availed Himself of his Power over the *Roman-Catholic* States, to procure their Offers of a firm Support under all Enterprizes for the Advancement of his Views, but induced the Pope to issue his Mandate to every Prince, attached to the holy See, enjoining Him to collect his Forces, and cooperate with *Philip* (r). On this Occasion, even the petty

(p) Mezeray.—Strada.—Camden.—Strype.—Stowe.—Holingshed.—Speed.

(q) Hugo Grotius in Hist. Belg.

(r) Strype's Annals, V. 3. p. 512.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 458.

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petty Republics of *Germany* were prevailed on to oppress the Subjects of *Elizabeth*, and interrupt their Commerce. Whilst the popish Factions resident in *England* were seduced by Bribes, and Artifices, to conspire against the Queen, the Fugitives from her Dominions found a safe Asylum, and were supported, at a considerable Expence, in *Spain* (1). During this Period, the Sovereign of that Kingdom was engaged in collecting, with equal Secrecy, and Dispatch, such a naval, and military Force as might suffice for the Atchievement of his important Plans. The Army, under Pretence of vigorously enforcing the Operations of the War, within the *Netherlands*, received Orders to join the Prince of *Parma*, one of the ablest Generals of his Time. Under his Command, They remained in Readiness for the intended Enterprize against the *English*, and waited only until the formidable Fleet which was to protect Them on their Passage, and assist in the Reduction of their Enemies, should be intirely equipped. At this Period, the Crown of *Portugal* fell into the Hands of *Philip*, and, with it, a very considerable naval Armament. This Circumstance alone seemed to inspire Him with a Confidence of Success; and his Hopes were heightened by the Execution of the Queen of *Scots*, an Act which, deeply staining the Character of *Elizabeth*, in every Court of *Europe*, might be urged as a reasonable Motive for opposing Her (2).

As

(2) Lists of the Persons of Quality, and Others, to whom *Philip* had assigned Pensions, may be seen in *Strype*, *Haynes*, &c.—*Murdin's Collection of State Papers*, p. 242, 244.—*Birch's Mem. of Elizabeth*, V. 1. p. 203.

(1) *Camden*.—*Stowe*.—*Speed*.—*Strype*.—*Bentivoglio*, Part 11. Lib. 4.—*Grimstone's History of the Netherlands*, B.

As the *English* Ministry had received an early, and authentic Information of the Designs of *Philip*, They had immediate Recourse to the necessary Preparations for the Defence of the Kingdom, but without revealing to the People, their Suspicion of the Dangers which surrounded Them. To foreign Powers, They laboured to represent *Philip*, as the common Disturber of all *Europe*, and strongly inculcated the Duty of an universal Opposition to a Tyrant who sought only to reduce, and rule Them with a Rod of Iron (u). In some Measure, to impede the Progress of his Arms, in the *Low-Countries*, the oppressed *Flemings*, who had renounced their Allegiance, were supplied with Money, and military Stores, from *England*; and, for the Purpose of annoying the *Spanish* Settlements, and Commerce, in the *West-Indies*, the Queen allowed her Subjects to equip a Number of Privateers, which sailing thither, not only carried on a contraband Trade, and committed frequent Hostilities, but brought Home an exact Intelligence concerning the Depth of the several Harbours, the Strength of the Fortresses, the chief Articles of Trade, and the most effectual Means of either procuring by fair Dealing, or forcibly destroying the Produce of their Manufactories (x). Thus, notwithstanding their immense Wealth, extensive Dominions, and formidable Power, the *Spaniards* were unable to secure their distant Colonies from the Depredations of the *English*.

What

B. 13.—M. Faria y Sousa, Lib. 5. Cap. 3.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 459.

(u) Strype's Annals, V. 3. p. 424.—Letters in the *Cabala*, under the Years 1587, and 1588.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 459.

(x) Stowe.—Hollinghed.—Speed.—Hackluyt.—Purchas.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 460.

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What most contributed to the Safety of *Elizabeth*, amidst the sanguinary Machinations of her perfidious Enemy, the King of *Spain*, was her fortunate Discovery of the chief Instruments whom He had employed for her Destruction. By a Stroke of Policy, peculiar to this discerning Princess, She converted her determined Assassins into real Friends, and forbearing either to expose, or punish Them, so effectually reclaimed Them by her Liberality, that They assisted in the Accomplishment of her Designs, and yet remained the Tools, and Pensioners of *Philip*. The Queen also caused the Ambassador *Mendoza*, (whose Arts might otherwise have been dangerous, had He stayed in *England*;) to be so wrought on as to forfeit his Character, by suborning Persons to murder the Secretary of State, Sir *William Cecil*, and to scatter, throughout the Streets, during the Night, a Multitude of Libels, reflecting on the Court, and Government (y). This deluded Man is observed to have fallen into extreme Disgrace, on his Return to *Spain*, where, overwhelmed with Penitence, He secluded Himself from Society, during the Remainder of his Life (z).

On other Occasions, the Emisaries of *Philip* (employed to alienate the Affections of the People from the Queen, and form a strong Party, in Readiness to take Arms against their Country, whensoever it might be invaded,) were seduced to engage in treasonable Conspiracies; and when They had proceeded so far as to

be-

(y) Camden.—Stowe.—Speed.—Life of Lord Burleigh, in the first Volume of Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*.—Bishop Carleton's Remembrances, Chap. 7. p. 73.—Styrie's Annals, V. 3. B. 1. C. 14. And the Appendix, No. 24. p. 43.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 460.

(z) Ibid.—Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, V. 2. p. 128.

become obnoxious to the Law, impeached by their Advisers, and after a formal Trial, condemned, and executed. These Severities alarmed the *Roman-Catholics*, who, perceiving that Obedience to the Commands of *Philip* was a Service of equal Ignominy, and Danger, were more guarded in their Enterprizes, and outwardly appeared to reverence the Government which They secretly detested. Such powerful Obstacles were yet insufficient to deter the *Spaniards* from fixing on the Commencement of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy, for an Invasion of the Kingdom; but their Designs were rendered abortive by an Event, to which the Stratagems of *Elizabeth*, and her Ministers, had particularly contributed. They persuaded the Prince of *Parma* to withdraw Himself from an exclusive Attachment to the Interests of *Philip*, and so to concert his future Measures, that They should tend rather to his own Aggrandizement, than to the Advantage of his Sovereign. Whilst the Prince was exulting over the Prospect of Success, He was dispatched by Poison (a); and thus, (observes a naval Writer (b)) *Elizabeth* reaped a double Benefit, escaping an Invasion, and being delivered from an Enemy whom it would have been difficult to subdue.

If We may be allowed to form a Judgment from the Instructions given (so early as the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-four, and continued during the succeeding Year,) to the proper Officers, for reviewing the Fortifications, and delivering to the Privy-Council, exact Muster-Rolls of the Regulars, and the Mili-

(a) Carleton's Remembrances, C. 8. p. 90.—Stowe's Annals, p. 746.—Holinshed.—Speed.—Grimstone's History of the Netherlands, B. 13. p. 1020, 1061.

(b) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 461.

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Militia, *Elizabeth* received an earlier Intimation of the Designs of *Philip*, than the Generality of Historians have hitherto imagined (c). It appears from an old Manuscript, dated in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-five, that the Number of Men, fit for Service, throughout *England*, amounted to one Hundred eighty-two Thousand, nine Hundred, and Twenty-nine; that the Soldiers in Arms, and continually prepared for Action, were computed at sixty-two Thousand, four Hundred and Sixty-two; and that the Light-Horse were reckoned at two Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty-six (d). We learn also from an Account, (e) taken in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-eight, that all the Ships whatsoever, belonging to the royal Navy, amounted only to twenty-four. Of these, the largest, called the *Triumph*, was of the Burthen of a thousand Tons, and the *George*, which was the smallest, under sixty Tons. At the same Period, the Number of all the Ships throughout *England*, of an hundred Tons Burthen, and upwards, amounted to one Hundred, and Thirty-five, and there were only six Hundred fifty-six Ships, under the Burthen of an hundred, and above That of forty Tons (f).

It is, therefore, evident that two Writers (g) whose Knowledge of naval History was far from being inconsiderable, were mistaken, when They drew out the following, as

Vol. II. N A List

(c) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 461.

(d) Ibid. p. 462.

(e) E Codice Antiq. MS. penes Sam. Knight, S. T. P.

(f) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 462.

(g) Burchet's Preface to his Naval History.—Lediard's Naval History, V. 1. Folio, p. 160.

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p. 90.—Stowe's
Grimstone's Histo-
661.
V. 1. p. 461.

A List of the *English Fleet*, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-three.

	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	
Of — 100	—	1	
From — 80	}	9	
To — 60	}		
From — 58	}	49	
To — 40	}		
From — 38	}	58	
To — 20	}		
From — 18	}	29	
To — 6	}		
		Total	146

Fifty-nine were Line of Battle Ships, as They might be reckoned in those Days.

In this Account which a more accurate Investigator (*h*) deems equally absurd, and improbable, the Error lies in the chronological Arrangement, which should have related to a Period, less distant from the present *Æra*, by an hundred Years. That the foregoing List of the royal Navy is not authentic, may be gathered from an Estimate in the Office of Ordnance, where the Guns on Board of the Ships belonging to the Queen, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-eight, are computed to be five Hundred, and Four (*i*); whereas according to the above Calculation, They must have been in Number, five Thousand, and Ninety-nine; and greatly exceeding the Quantity of Cannon in the *Spanish Armada* which, according to the List printed by Authority from *Philip*, was but two Thousand, six Hundred, and Thirty (*k*).

Left

(*h*) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. 463.

(*i*) E Codicæ Antiq. antè citat.

(*k*) Strype's *Annals*, V. 3. p. 221. in the Appendix.

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Left it should be imagined that the naval Strength of England was not so inconsiderable at this Period, it seems necessary to insert *verbatim* the authentic List, with some Remarks which may put the Matter beyond Dispute (1).

The Names of her Majesty's Ships, with the Number of Men, and Furniture, requisite for the setting forth of the same. A. D. 1578.

I. TRIUMPH.

1 Men 780, whereof	Mariners	—	200
Mariners	—	450	
Gunners	—	50	
Soldiers	—	200	
2 Furniture			
Harquebus	—	250	
Bows	—	50	
Arrows, sheaves of	100		
Pikes	—	200	
Corselets	—	100	
Mariners	—	200	
3 Burthen 1003.			

II. ELIZABETH.

1 Men 600, whereof			
Mariners	—	300	
Gunners	—	50	
Soldiers	—	200	
2 Furniture			
Harquebus	—	200	
Bows	—	50	
Arrows, sheaves of	100		
Pikes	—	280	
Bills	—	170	
N 2			

III. WHITE BEAR.

1 Men 600, whereof			
Mariners	—	300	
Gunners	—	50	
Soldiers	—	200	
2 Furniture			
Harquebus	—	200	
Bows	—	50	
Arrows, sheaves of	100		
Pikes	—	280	
Bills	—	170	
Mariners	—	200	
5 Burthen	—	900	

IV. VICTORY.

1 Men 500, whereof			
Mariners	—	330	
Gunners	—	40	
Soldiers	—	160	
2 Furniture			
Harquebus	—	200	
Bows	—	40	
Arrows			

(1) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 463.

180 MEMOIRS OF

Arrows, sheaves of	80
Corsets	80
Mariners	160
3 Burthen	803

V. PRIMROSE.

1 Men 500, whereof	
Mariners	330
Gunners	40
Soldiers	160

2 Furniture	
Harquebus	200
Bows	40
Arrows, sheaves of	80
Corsets	80
Mariners	160
3 Burthen	803

VI. MARY ROSE.

1 Men 350, whereof	
Mariners	200
Gunners	50
Soldiers	120

2 Furniture	
Harquebus	120
Bows	30
Arrows, sheaves of	60
Pikes	100
Bills	120
Corsets	50
Mariners	160
3 Burthen	600

VII. HOPE.

1 Men 350, whereof	
Mariners	200
Gunners	50
Soldiers	120

2 Furniture	
Harquebus	125
Bows	30
Arrows, sheaves of	60
Pikes	100
Bills	120
Corsets	50
Mariners	160
3 Burthen	600

VII. BONAVENTURE.

1 Men 300, whereof	
Mariners	160
Gunners	30
Soldiers	110

2 Furniture	
Harquebus	110
Bows	30
Arrows, sheaves of	60
Pikes	90
Bills	100
Corsets	50
Mariners	100
3 Burthen	600

IX. PHILIP and MARY.

1 Men 300, whereof	
Mariners	160
Gunners	30
Soldiers	110

2 Furniture	
Harquebus	110
Bows	30
Arrows, sheaves of	60
Pikes	90
Bills	100
Corsets	50
Mariners	100
3 Burthen	600

X. LY-

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X. LYON.

1 Men 290, whereof

Mariners — 150
Gunnors — 30
Soldiers — 110

2 Furniture

Harquebus — 110
Bows — 30
Arrows, sheaves of — 60

Pikes — 90
Bills — 100
Corflets — 50

Mariners — 100
3 Burthen — 600

XI. DREADNOUGHT.

1 Men 250, whereof

Mariners — 140
Gunnors — 20
Soldiers — 80

2 Furniture

Harquebus — 80
Bows — 25
Arrows, sheaves of — 50

Pikes — 50
Bills — 60
Corflets — 40

Mariners — 80
3 Burthen — 400

XII. SWIFTSURE.

1 Men 250, whereof

Mariners — 140
Gunnors — 20
Soldiers — 80

2 Furniture

Harquebus — 80
Bows — 25

Arrows, sheaves of 50

Pikes — 50

Bills — 60

Corflets — 40

Mariners — 80

3 Burthen — 400

XIII. SWALLOW.

1 Men 200, whereof

Mariners — 120

Gunnors — 20

Soldiers — 60

2 Furniture

Harquebus — 75

Bows — 25

Arrows, sheaves of — 50

Bills — 60

Corflets — 30

Mariners — 70

3 Burthen — 350

XIV. ANTELOPE.

1 Men 200, whereof

Mariners — 120

Gunnors — 20

Soldiers — 60

2 Furniture

Harquebus — 75

Bows — 25

Arrows, sheaves of — 50

Bills — 60

Corflets — 30

Mariners — 70

3 Burthen — 350

XV. JENNET.

1 Men 200, whereof

Mariners — 120

Gunnors — 20

Soldiers — 60

2 Furniture

Harquebus — 75

Bows — 25

Arrows, sheaves of — 50

Bills — 60

Corflets — 30

Mariners — 70

3 Burthen — 350

N 3

Gunnors

125

30

60

100

120

50

160

600

VENTURE.

whereof

160

30

110

110

30

60

90

100

50

100

600

and MARY.

whereof

160

30

110

110

30

60

90

100

50

100

600

X. LY-

Gunners	—	20
Soldiers	—	60
2 Furniture		
Harquebus	—	75
Bows	—	25
Arrows, sheaves of	—	50
Bills	—	60
Corflets	—	30
Mariners	—	70
3 Burthen	—	350

XVI. FORESIGHT.

1 Men 200, whereof		
Mariners	—	120
Gunners	—	20
Soldiers	—	60
2 Furniture		
Harquebus	—	75
Bows	—	25
Arrows, sheaves of	—	50
Bills	—	60
Corflets	—	30
Mariners	—	70
3 Burthen	—	350

XVII. AID.

1 Men 160, whereof		
Mariners	—	90
Gunners	—	20
Soldiers	—	50
2 Furniture		
Harquebus	—	50
Bows	—	20
Arrows, sheaves of	—	40
Pikes	—	40
Bills	—	50
Corflets	—	20
Mariners	—	50
3 Burthen	—	240

XVIII. BULL.

1 Men 120, whereof		
Mariners	—	80
Gunners	—	10
Soldiers	—	40
2 Furniture		
Harquebus	—	35
Bows	—	15
Arrows, sheaves of	—	30
Pikes	—	30
Bills	—	30
Corflets	—	20
Mariners	—	40
3 Burthen	—	160

XIX. TYGER.

1 Men 120, whereof		
Mariners	—	80
Gunners	—	10
Soldiers	—	40
2 Furniture		
Harquebus	—	35
Bows	—	15
Arrows, sheaves of	—	30
Pikes	—	30
Bills	—	40
Corflets	—	20
Mariners	—	40
3 Burthen	—	160

XX. FAULCON.

1 Men 80, whereof		
Mariners	—	60
Gunners	—	10
Soldiers	—	20
2 Furniture		
Harquebus	—	24
Bows	—	10
Arrows, sheaves of	—	20
Pikes		

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Pikes	—	20	Corsets	—	12
Bills	—	30	Mariners	—	24
Corsets	—	12	3 Burthen	—	80
Mariners	—	24			
3 Burthen	—				

XXIII. BARK of BULLEN.

XXI. AIBATES.

1 Men 60, whereof			1 Men 50, whereof		
Mariners	—	30	Mariners	—	30
Gunners	—	10	Gunners	—	10
Soldiers	—	10	Soldiers	—	0
2 Furniture			2 Furniture		
Harquebus	—	16	Harquebus	—	12
Bows	—	10	Bows	—	10
Arrows, sheaves of	20		Arrows, sheaves of	20	
Pikes	—	20	Pikes	—	15
Bills	—	30	Bills	—	20
Corsets	—	12	Mariners	—	30
Mariners	—	24	3 Burthen	—	60
3 Burthen	—	80			

XXIV. GEORGE.

XXII. HANDMAID.

1 Men 50, whereof			1 Men 50, whereof		
Mariners	—	40	Mariners	—	40
Gunners	—	10	Gunners	—	10
Soldiers	—	0	Soldiers	—	0
2 Furniture			2 Furniture		
Harquebus	—	12	Harquebus	—	12
Bows	—	10	Bows	—	10
Arrows, sheaves of	20		Arrows, sheaves of	20	
Pikes	—	15	Pikes	—	15
Bills	—	20	Bills	—	20
Mariners	—	30	Mariners	—	30
3 Burthen	—	60	3 Burthen	—	60

The Number of the Rest, as well Merchant-Ships,
as Others, (in all Places of *England*) of an hundred
Tons, and upwards, is 135

The Number of all Barks, and Ships of forty Tons,
and upwards, to an hundred Tons, is 656

There are, besides, by Estimation, an hundred Sail

of Hoys: Also, of small Barks, and Fishermen, an infinite Number. So that the Number—throughout the Realm, cannot be less than six Hundred, exclusive of the Vessels belonging to the Port of *London*.

Here, ends the List, for the Authenticity of which, a naval Writer (*m*) observes there cannot be a fuller Evidence than the visible Conformity between it, and all the Lists of the Ships belonging to *Elizabeth*, published in the Relations, by Authority, during her Reign, and by Sir *William Monson*, in his Memoirs, with one of which, containing the State of the Navy, at the Demise of the Queen, the Reader will have Occasion to compare it, hereafter. On the other Hand, that there could be no such Fleet, at the Time when the before-mentioned Abstract is dated, will still farther appear from the following Considerations; that the Building, and Maintenance of it, was utterly inconsistent with the State of the public Revenue, in that Era; that contemporary Writers have not made the least Mention of such a Force; that all the Lists of Ships, published by Authority, directly contradict it; so that unless We can believe that the wisest, and most active Men of that Period were totally ignorant of what it most imported Them to know, We must conclude that this Abstract certainly belongs to a different Epoch, or that it is an absolute Chimera; but the Former appears infinitely more probable than the Latter (*n*).

Before We quit this Subject, it may not be improper to present the Reader with an Account (from a contemporary Historian (*o*), of the naval Armaments of *Elizabeth*, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred,

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 467.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) Harrison's Description of Britain, (printed in 1577.) Chap. 13.

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dred, and Seventy-seven. " Certes, there is no Prince in *Europe* that hath a more beautiful Sort of Ships, than the Queen's Majesty of *England*, at this present; and Those generally are of such exceeding Force, that two of Them being well appointed, and furnished as They ought, will not let to encounter with three, or four of Them of other Countries, and either bowge Them, or put Them to Flight, if They may not bring Them home.—The Queen's Highness hath, at this present, already made, and furnished, to the Number of one, and twenty great Ships, which lie, for the most Part, in *Gillingham Road*. Beside These, her Grace hath Others in Hand also, of whom, hereafter, as their Turns do come about, I will not let to leave some farther Remembrance. She hath, likewise three notable Gallies, the *Speedwell*, the *Tryeright*, and the *Black Galley*, with the Sight whereof, and the Rest of the Navy-royal, it is incredible to say how marvelously her Grace is delighted; and not without great Cause, sith, by their Means, her Coasts are kept in Quiet, and sundry foreign Enemies put back, which otherwise would invade us." This Historian, after having mentioned the Merchant-Ships, which (He observes,) are commonly estimated at seventeen, or eighteen hundred, proceeds thus. " I add, therefore, to the End all Men should understand somewhat of the great *Masses of Treasure* daily employed upon our Navy, how there are few of Those Ships of the first, and second Sort, (that is of the Merchant-Ships,) that being apparelled, and made ready to sail, are not worth one thousand Pounds, or three thousand Ducats, at the least, if They should presently be sold. What shall We then think of the Navy-royal, of which some one Vessel is worth two of the Others, as the Shipwright hath often told me?—It is possible that some covetous Person,

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ermen, an in-
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city of which,
not be a fuller
tween it, and
Elizabeth, pub-
ing her Reign,
oors, with one
Navy, at the
have Occasion
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ime when the
ill still farther
ions; that the
utterly incon-
venue, in that
e not made the
all the Lists of
ontradi& it; so
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sand, five Hun-
dred,

V. 1. p. 467.

(printed in 1577.)

hearing this Report, will either not credit at all, or suppose Money so employed to be nothing profitable to the Queen's Coffers; as a good Husband said once when He heard that Provisions should be made for Armour, wishing the Queen's Money to be rather laid out to some speedier Return of Gain unto her Grace: But if He wist that the good Keeping of the Sea is the Safeguard of our Land, He would alter his Censure, and soon give over his Judgment." We cannot avoid adding that this Author, making Mention of the Forests, says, "An infinite Deal of Wood hath been destroyed within these few Years, and I dare affirm that if Wood do go so fast to Decay in the next hundred Years of Grace, as They have done, or are like to do in this, it is to be feared that Sea-Coal will be good Merchandize even in the City of London. It is justly remarked that the Prophecy of *Harrison* was accomplished in the Space of very few Years, and that two thousand Sail of Vessels were employed in carrying Coals to the Metropolis, about the Year, one Thousand, six Hundred, and Fifteen (p).

The next naval, and commercial Occurrence in the Reign of *Elizabeth*, is the Voyage of Captain *John Oxenham* (q). This Adventurer had served under the great Sir *Francis Drake*, as Soldier, Sailor, and Cook. During the Expedition to the *South-Sea*, He had remarked the defenceless Situation of the *Spaniards*, and suggested to his Associates, the Probability that an Enterprize undertaken on their own Account, might, hereafter, render Them as rich as their Commander. At their

(p) *Anderson*, V. 1. p. 494.—*Hume's History of England*, V. 5. Note N. N. p. 534.

(q) The Particulars which follow are taken from *Camden*.—*Hackluyt*, Part 3. p. 526.—*Purchas*, V. 4. p. 1180.—*Lediard's Naval History*, V. 1. Folio, p. 160.—And their chief Authority, *Lopez Vaz*, a Portuguese Historian.

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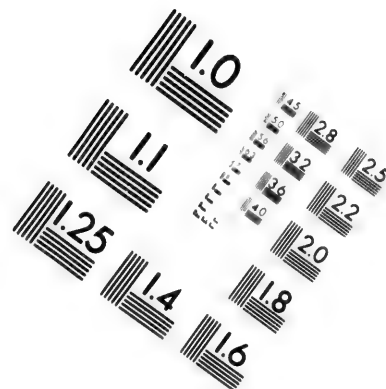
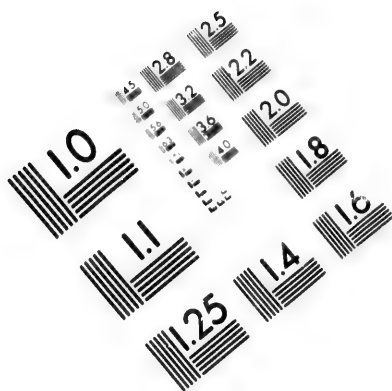
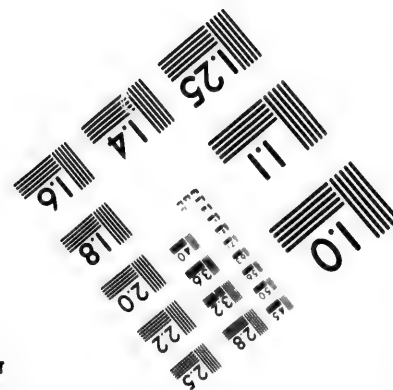
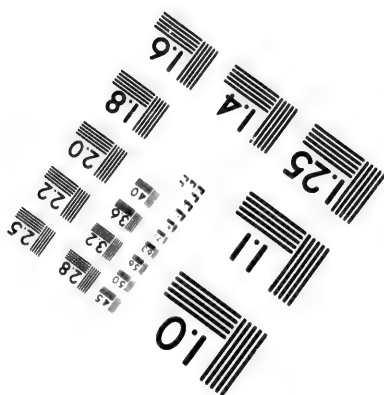
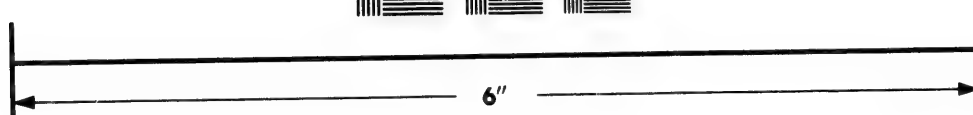
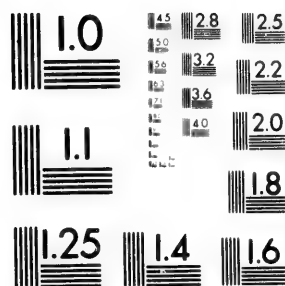


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their Return to *England*, having obtained the necessary Supplies, they equipped a Ship of the Burthen of one hundred, and forty Tons, and, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-five, proceeded in it, with seventy Mariners to the *South-Sea*. On their Arrival, they discovered that the Muleteers, and a Guard of Soldiers, were expected with the Convoy from *Panama*, to *Porto-Bello*. The more easily to accomplish their designs, unnoticed by the Inhabitants, They drew their Vessel into a woody Place, concealed it under an extensive Covering of Boughs, buried their great Ordnance, and Provisions, and then hiring six Negroes for their Guides, marched (with no Means of Defence, except two small Cannon, and their Muskets,) about twelve Leagues, by Night over the Mountains upon the Continent, to a River that discharges itself into the *South-Sea*. At a small Distance from the Shore, They felled some Timber, and, constructing a Pinnace, which was five and forty Feet, by the Keel, proceeded to the neighbouring Bay, from whence they sailed to the *Pearl Islands*, (within twenty-five Leagues of the City of *Panama*,) a convenient Station for intercepting the Plate Ship on their Passage thither from *Peru*.

Having waited here, during ten Days, They engaged, and took a small Bark, bound from *Quito* to *Panama*. Her Freight consisted of sixty thousand *Pezzos* (or Pieces) of Gold, weighing sixty Pounds, and a large Quantity of Provisions. In about a Week afterwards, They seized on a Vessel coming from *Lima*, in which was an hundred Pound-Weight of Silver, in Bars. With their Prizes, and a small Number of Pearls, They sailed towards the River, near the *South-Sea*, and arriving at the Mouth of it, rifled, and dismissed

missed the *Springs* Vessels, and then departed in their Pinnace.

The Avarice, and Imprudence of *Oxenham*, who loitered, during a Fortnight, on the Island, in Quest of Pearls, instead of retiring directly with his Booty, gave Occasion to the Loss of it. Some Negroes, Inhabitants of the Place, had sailed in their Canoes, to *Panama*, where They informed the Governor of the Depredations committed by the *English*. *Juan de Ortega*, a naval Officer, was directed to pursue Them, and in two Days, proceeded towards the *Isle of Pearls*, with four Barks, on Board of which were an hundred Men, exclusive of Negroes for the Purposes of Rowing. At his Arrival, He received Intelligence of the Course which They had steered, and immediately setting Sail, was so fortunate as to fall in with the Prizes which *Oxenham* had dismissed. From These, He learned that the *English* had gone up the River, and, therefore, continued his Expedition, until He reached the Mouth of it, where, observing two smaller Rivers, He could not, at first, determine which to enter, but was soon relieved from his Perplexity, by the Appearance of a Quantity of Feathers which the *English* (after having plucked some Fowls, had, with their former Indiscretion, suffered to float down the Stream of one of the smaller Rivers.

Having cruized in it, during four Days, the Spaniards discovered the Pinnace belonging to the *English*, on the Sands, and guarded only by six Persons. Of These, they killed One; the Rest escaped, leaving the Pinnace, which contained nothing but Provisions, to be plundered by their Assailants. *Ortega*, not satisfied with so trifling an Advantage, determined to seek out the Enemy on the Shore. He, therefore, left twenty
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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 189

of his Men to secure the Pinnace, and with the remain-
ing eighty, marched up the Country. He had not pro-
ceeded above half a League, before He discovered a
Hut, (constructed with Boughs,) in which were all the
Goods of the *English*, together with their Booty of
Gold, and Silver. These were carried by the *Spaniards*
to their Barks, and *Ortega*, pleased with his Success,
seemed desirous to relinquish the Pursuit.

Whilst the *Spaniards* were preparing for their De-
parture, *Oxenham*, and his Companions, reinforced by
more than two hundred Negroes, overtook, and at-
tacked Them, with great Fury. As They were ad-
vantageously posted in a Wood, it was with little Dif-
ficulty that they obtained a compleat Victory over the
English, eleven of whom, together with five Negroes,
were killed in the Action. Several, also were taken
Prisoners. On the Side of the *Spaniards*, only two
were slain and five wounded (r).

The *English* Prisoners, on being questioned, by their
Conquerors, why they deferred their Departure dur-
ing the space of a Fortnight, when, before the Ex-
piration of that Time, They might have escaped un-
molested, with their Seizures, replied that the chief
Occasion of their Delay was a Quarrel with the Cap-
tain: He had desired Them to carry the Booty, on
Board the Ship, and in Return, offered Them a Re-
ward, exclusive of their Wages. They expressed their
Inclination to obey Him, but previously insisted on the
immediate Performance of his Promise. *Oxenham*, en-
raged at this Appearance of Distrust, declared that no
Circumstance should induce Him to accept of their As-
sistance, and went out in Search of Negroes to execute
an Office of which He deemed his Associates unworthy.

At

(r) Camden.

At his Return, with a sufficient Number of the Former, He met the five *Englishmen* who had escaped from the Pinnace, and the Hut. When made acquainted with what had happened, He felt the Necessity of an instant Reconciliation with the whole Crew, and proffered Them one Half of the Treasure, on Condition that They should support Him in the Attempt to recover it from the *Spaniards*. This Proposal was chearfully agreed to; and the Negroes, who were supplied with Bows, and Arrows, engaged to succour Them in the Attack. These Prisoners added that *Oxenham*, dispirited by the Loss of so many of his Associates, had returned to his Ship, intending to proceed, without Delay, for *England*.

Availing Himself of this Account, *Juan de Ortega* gave Orders that the *English* Pinnace should be freighted with the Booty which He had recovered, and, soon afterwards, sailed in it, with his Prisoners, to *Panama*. From thence, He dispatched a Messenger to *Nombrè de Dios*, the Inhabitants of which, in Compliance with his Request, equipped four Barks, and sent Them in Pursuit of *Oxenham*. After a short Cruize, They discovered the Ship, and (having overpowered the Captain and his Associates,) brought it safely into their own Harbour. In the mean Time, the Vice-Roy of *Peru*, commanded a Detachment consisting of an hundred, and fifty Men, to march in Quest of the Remainder of the *English*, who to the Number of Fifty, had retired to the Mountains. They were found busied in the Construction of Canoes, for their Passage to the *North Seas*, where They expected to surprize some Vessel. The Sick were immediately made Prisoners, but the Rest fled. They were soon afterwards betrayed by the Negroes, into the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who conducted Them to *Panama*.

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 191

Before the Governor of this City, *Oxenham* underwent a long Examination, at the Close of which, He was asked whether the Queen had authorised his Proceedings. When it appeared that He was not invested with any Powers from *Elizabeth*, Sentence of Death was pronounced against Him, and his Confederates, as Pirates, and the declared Enemies of Mankind. All were immediately executed on the Spot, except *Oxenham*, the Master, Pilot, and three Boys, who were sent, in Chains, to *Lima*. Here the Last, in Consideration of their Youth, were pardoned; but the Captain, and his two Companions, suffered on a Gibbet. And thus, ended this memorable Adventure.

The next Voyage (s) which falls within our Notice, was undertaken by Mr. *Andrew Barker*, who, after having resided some Years, at *Teneriff*, one of the *Canary* Islands, returned to *England*, leaving *Charles Chester*, the Son of a *Bristol* Merchant, to take care of his Effects. Having freighted a Ship, named the *Speedwell*, with Cloth, and other Articles, to a considerable Value, *Barker* gave the Command of it to one *John Drue*, his Factor, who sailed in it, for the *Canaries*, in November of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-four. When He arrived at *Teneriff*, He sent back the *Speedwell*, concluding that He could make a better Price of his Goods, by keeping Them to provide a Lading of Wine, and Sugar, for another Ship.

To facilitate his Designs, *Barker* sent, in the Month of March following, a Vessel, called the *Christopher*, at *Dartmouth*, and commanded by *Henry Roberts*, of *Bristol*. Immediately on the arrival of the Captain at *Teneriff*, He was arrested, and cast into Prison, by the *Spaniards*

(s) Lopez Vaz.

Spaniards who, in Vindication of their Conduct, affirmed that *Chester* had lodged, with the Inquisition, a Charge of Heresy against *Barker*. Under this Pretence, They seized on all the valuable Effects of *Andrew Barker*, his Brother *John*, and Several of their Family, and Acquaintance; nor was it without Reluctance, that they permitted Captain *Roberts*, to depart for *England*, with his empty Vessel.

Determined to resent his Injury, *Barker*, assisted by his Friends, equipped two Ships, the *Ragged Staff*, and *Bear*. He commanded the First in Person, and appointed *Philip Roche*, to be Master: Of the Second, *William Cox*, of *Limehouse*, was Captain, and Master. In the Beginning of June, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-six, They departed from *Plymouth*, and touched, first, at *Del Sal*, one of the Islands of *Cape Verd*. From thence They sailed to the Island of *Mayo*, where They procured fresh Water; and, for a short Time, traded peaceably with the *Portuguese*; but when their Trumpeter was attacked, and killed by an inconsiderable Number of the Natives, They revenged his Death, with a Degree of Cruelty, ill suited to the Crime, and confounding the Innocent with the Guilty, reduced two Villages to Ashes.

From *Mayo*, They steered their Course over the Ocean, to the *West-Indies*, and arrived at the Island of *Trinidad*, where They framed a Pinnace which They had carried out in Joints, on Board the *Ragged Staff*. In this, They sailed to the adjacent Harbours, and traded with the *Indians*. In a Week afterwards, They proceeded to the Island of *Margarita*, where They seized on a small *Spanish* Vessel, (freighted with Pitch, and *Canary* Wine,) out of which They took four Tons of Wine, and then dismissed Her. At the Island of *Curacao*, to which They sailed next, fourteen of their Men

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Men were treacherously wounded by the *Indians*, and *Spaniards*.

From Thence, They departed for the Continent, *Southwards*, where They remained, during three Days, without being engaged in any remarkable Transaction. The next Place at which They touched was the *Cape de la Vela*. Here, *Barker*, and the Master of the *Ragged Staff*, absurdly disputing concerning their fancied Superiority in naval Knowledge, laid the Foundation of Animosities which, in the End, proved fatal to the Former (1).

They next sailed to the Bay of *Tulu*, (nearly eighteen Leagues, *South-West* of *Cartagena*,) where They engaged, and took a Frigate, on Board of which was the Value of five hundred Pounds, in Bars of Gold, and Ingots of Silver, exclusive of a Quantity of coined Silver, or Rials of Plate, and some Emeralds, amongst which was one of a prodigious Size, and set in Gold. The Frigate, after having been detained during three Days, and rifled of all the Treasure, for the Use of Captain *Barker*, was permitted to depart.

From the Bay of *Tulu*, They sailed to *Nombre de Dios*, and next to the Mouth of the River *Chagre*, at the Distance of eighteen Leagues, and towards the *North-West*. Here, Several of the *English* were seized with a burning Fever, which carried off nine of the Mariners.

Between *Chagre*, and *Veragua*, They took another *Spanish* Frigate, in which was found a small Quantity of Gold. In it were twenty-three *Spaniards*, (whom They set on Shore,) and two *Flemings*, with four brass Cannons, three Harquebusses, and sixteen *Spanish* Cavaliers.

(1) The Particulars which follow are taken from Purchas, V. 4. p. 1180.—Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 528.—Lediard's Naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 163.

livers. In this Frigate, some of the Company afterwards returned to *England*.

At *Veragua*, Captain *Barker*, and the Master of the *Ragged Staff* renewed their Disputes, which being carried to violent Lengths, occasioned a Duel, in which the Former was wounded in the Cheek. The *Ragged Staff* was, at this Time, discovered to be leaky, and therefore, sunk. The Crew removed into the *Spanish* Frigate.

They, next, sailed, under the Pilotage of some of the *Indians*, to the Gulph of *Honduras*, where They seized a Bark, in which were an hundred Pounds of Rials of Plate, together with some *Indian* Wheat, and other Provisions. Amongst the *Spaniards* who were taken Prisoners, was the Secretary of *Carthagena*, for whose Liberty a considerable Sum was paid in Gold: The Rest were dismissed without a Ransom. After having passed by several Islands, the *English* came to *San Francisco*, at the Mouth of the great Bay, called the *Honduras*. Within two Days after their Arrival, *William Cox*, the Commander of the *Bear*, attended by Others, whom He had engaged in a Conspiracy, assaulted Captain *Barker*, and not only dispossessed Him of the Ship, but of the Treasure which was in Her. *Barker* was carried, by Violence, on Shore, and, in a Duel between Him, and one *German Weibourne*, Both were wounded.

Soon afterwards, Captain *Barker* made an ineffectual Attempt to get on Board the Ship. The same Persons who had driven him on Shore, opposed his Entrance, and declared that He should not be admitted until the Eve of their Departure. He was, therefore, obliged to return to *San Francisco*, where, early in the Morning of the following Day, the *English* who (exclusive of the ten Men appointed to guard the Island,) amount-

ed to thirty Persons, were suddenly attacked by sixty *Spaniards*, who, in a severe Conflict, killed Captain *Barker*, together with eight more, and wounded two Others, of which one was the Captain's Boy.

When *Cox*, and his Accomplices who had seized upon the Vessel, perceived that *Barker*, and several of his Adherents were slain, They judged it most prudent (under this alarming Diminution of their Number,) to be united with the Few who had survived the Action. Accordingly, They all quitted a Place where a longer Stay might have proved fatal, and sailed to an Island about a League farther. Here, *Cox* divided amongst the Crew, a Chain of Gold, which was discovered in a Chest that had belonged to *Barker*.

Being, now, Commander in Chief, He proceeded, attended by several of his Associates, with a Skiff, and the Pinnace, which They had taken at the Island of *San Francisco*, to the Town of *Truxillo*, in the Bay of *Honduras*. From hence, They carried off, by Violence, Wine, Oil, and other valuable Articles. It is probable that, amongst the Plunder, They found Gold, and Silver, although during their Examination in *England*, They were silent with Regard to this Circumstance. On their Return to the Island, They were chased by several *Spanish* Men of War, and, as the Pinnace out-sailed the Skiff, the Latter, on board of which were eight Persons, was left an easy Prize to the *Spaniards* who, probably, carried it to the Bay of *Honduras*. Touching this Event, We can only write from Conjecture, as no Tidings were ever received, either concerning the Skiff, or any of the Mariners.

They now determined to return to *England*, and, having made the necessary Preparations for the Voyage, steered their Course towards the main Ocean. When They had sailed to about the Distance of twenty

Leagues from the Island of *San Francisco*, a violent Storm arose, during which the Frigate (laden with the Treasure for the Adventurers, and all the Property of the Captain,) was overfet, and sunk to the Bottom. In this Calamity, fourteen Men were involved, and the remaining nine escaped, with Difficulty, by swimming to the other Vessel. Amongst These, were *William Cox*, and *William Gillam*. *Philip Roche*, the first, and chief Promoter of those Animosities which so fatally interrupted the Progress of their intended Enterprize, died, afterwards, on his Passage.

At length, the Remains of this unhappy Company, arrived at the Islands of *Scilly*, near the Coast of *Cornwal*, where They left their Frigate, which had been intirely repaired on the Shore of *Honduras*, and which, at the Time of their Landing in *England*, was laden with ten Butts of Oil, four Brass Cannon, (formerly belonging to *Oxenham's* Vessel,) taken in the preceding Year, not far from the Streights of *Darien*, three Harquebusses, some Calivers, and a Part of the Treasure. The Remainder of it was divided, at the Isles of *Scilly*, by *William Cox*, and *Andrew Brown*, amongst their Associates, at the general Rate of five, six, or seven Pounds a Man; but more was given to others, whose deserving Conduct intitled Them to a particular Reward. The Bark, and the Rest of the Ordnance, were resigned to *Andrew Brown*.

Several of the Crew were seized on their Arrival at *Plymouth*, and conveyed to Prison, being charged, at the Suit of Mr. *John Barker*, of *Bristol*, with having betrayed the Captain, his Brother, to the *Spaniards*, and, by that Crime, rendered Themselves accessory to his Death. The Privy Council appointed Commissioners to preside at their Trial, at the Close of which, the most atrocious of the Offenders, were sentenced to a se-

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a severe, and long Confinement, instead of Death; a Punishment which, in the general Opinion, They justly had deserved.

On the thirtieth of *January*, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-seven, Mr. *William Towerfon*, whose former Enterprizes have been already mentioned (u), sailed for the Coast of *Guinea*, from *Plymouth*, with three Ships, the *Minion*, Admiral, the *Christopher*, Vice-Admiral, and the *Tiger*, together with a *Pinnace*, called the *Unicorn*. On the Day following, They chased, and afterwards took two Vessels, bound for *Dantzick*. Having been plundered (as it was in Time of War,) of all the *French* Merchandize which could be found on Board, They were permitted to depart. On the fourteenth of February, *Towerfon* arrived at the *Canaries*, and soon afterwards, the *Spanish West-India* Fleet, consisting of nineteen Ships, sailed into the same Harbour. The *English*, on being haughtily commanded to give the first Salute, replied that They did not acknowledge the Precedency of any foreign Flag, and should repel, by Violence, the least Attempt to bring them to Submission. Alarmed at this spirited Proceeding, the *Spaniards* relinquished their Pretensions, and peaceably concluded the Dispute. On the twentieth of the same Month, the *English* approached the Coast of *Barbary*, and traded with the Natives of it, during six Weeks.

On the first of April, They chased, and, soon afterwards, engaged five *Portuguese* Men of War. The Action lasted during some Time, when the Enemy took the Advantage of the Night, and sheered off. On the fifth, They came in Sight of three *French* Ships, lying at Anchor. These perceiving that the *English* crowded Sail, slipped their Cables, and stood out to

(u) Vol. II. p. 132.

Sea. Two had the good Fortune to escape; The Other, making but little Way, was gained on by the *Minion*, and, after a short Resistance, struck, and was boarded. Her Lading consisted of valuable Merchandize, amongst which were fifty Pounds-Weight, and five Ounces of Gold. During this Month, and all May, the *English* traded again along the Coast.

On the seventh of June, They perceived five *Portuguese* Ships, at Anchor, under a Castle; Here, however, They avoided an Attack, from an Apprehension that their Conduct might be severely scrutinized, at their Return to *England*. On the twenty-fourth, having well manned their Pinnace, and their Boat, They proceeded to the Town of *Shamma*, which They plundered, and reduced to Ashes. On the twenty-fifth, They sailed for *England*, and arrived, on the nineteenth of October, at the *Isle of Wight*, after having touched at the Island of *Saint Thomas*, the *Cape Verd* Islands, and other Places (x).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-nine, a sixth Voyage was undertaken by *Arthur Edwards*, and Others, to *Muscovy*, and, from thence, to *Persia*. The Relation of it in *Hackluyt* (y) is almost too copious to bear an Abridgment in this Work; yet, as it is equally our Duty, and Inclination, to lay every important naval, and commercial Fact, before the Reader, We should treat more circumstantially of this Enterprize, if it differed in any material Point from One which hath been already mentioned (z).

At the same Period, *Amurath Cham*, Emperor of the *Turks*, gave his Sanction to a Treaty of Commerce, negotiated between the *Bassa*, *Muslapha Beg*, and *William*

(x) *Hackluyt*, Part 2.

(y) *Ibid.* Part 1. p. 418, &c.

(z) Vol. I. p. 146, &c.

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William Harbourn, an *Englishman*. On this Occasion, the same commercial Advantages which had been enjoyed by the *French*, *Venetians*, and the neighbouring Countries, were conferred on the Subjects of *Elizabeth*, under whose Privileges, Several of the Merchants formed an Association, which was afterwards styled the *Turkey Company*, and carried on a free Trade throughout the Dominions of the *Grand Seignior*. These Adventurers soon established a beneficial Intercourse with *Constantinople*, *Smyrna*, *Aleppo*, *Angori*, *Scio*, *Petrizzo*, *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and several of the *Asiatic* Ports, from whence They obtained Spices, Cotton, raw Silk, Mohair, Tapestries, *Indian Dye*, *Corinthian* Grapes, or Currants, Soap, and other Merchandize (a).

In this Year, also, Captain *Richard Whitburn*, of *Exeter*, was sent by Mr. *Cotton*, a Merchant of *Southampton*, to fish on the great Bank of *Newfoundland*. Here, his Associates were so disabled by the Severity of the Cold, that He was obliged to relinquish the Enterprize, and proceed to *Trinity Harbour*, near to which the Crew killed Quantities of Fish, Deer, Bears, Beavers, Seals, Otters, and Sea-Fowl. Having met with tolerable Success on the Voyage, They, at length, returned to *England*.

Without adverting to unnecessary Particulars, let it be sufficient to observe that, in this Year, *Philip* (who received Intelligence that *Elizabeth* had recalled from the Coast of *Ireland*, the Squadron, under the Command of the Admiral, Sir *William Winter*,) assisted *James Fitz-Maurice*, (a Rebel whom the Queen had pardoned,) in the Renewal of Hostilities. With a Troop of sixty *Spaniards*, reinforced by some *English*, and *Irish* Fugitives, this Malcontent proceeded towards *Kerry*, and soon afterwards entered the Bay of *Smerwick*. Here,

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(a) Camden, p. 474.

He disembarked, leaving the three Vessels which had attended Him, from *Spain*, to ride at Anchor. The Landing of *Fitz-Maurice* was immediately made known to *Thomas Courtenay*, the Commander of an *English* Ship of War, which lay in the Harbour of *Kinsale*. Resolved to lose no Time, He slipped his Cables, and doubling the Point, cut away the Transports of the Rebels, thus, depriving Them, at once, either of the Power of retreating, or of procuring the least Relief by Sea. *Fitz-Maurice*, endeavouring afterwards to excite *Sir William de Burgho*, and his Dependents, to an Insurrection, grew exasperated at the Refusal of this Chieftain; and violently attacked one of his Sons, who, in that Moment, was upbraiding Him for his Opposition to *Elizabeth*. In the Conflict, Each perished by the Sword of his Antagonist. The *Spaniards* now disheartened by the Loss of *Fitz-Maurice*, retired, with Precipitation, from their Post at *Smerwick*; but, as *Sir John Perrot*, with six Ships of War, was so advantageously stationed as to deprive Them of all Possibility of escaping, They were obliged to stand the Issue of a Battle, in which the *English*, having killed a considerable Number of the Rebels, and the *Spaniards*, obtained the Victory (b). The remaining Operations of War, (during this Period,) in *Ireland*, are chiefly foreign to our Subject. The only Information concerning the naval Armaments, is, that *Sir William Winter*, who had been forced by tempestuous Weather, and a Scarcity of Provisions, to return Home, appeared again off the *Irish* Coast, with a formidable Squadron, in Order to support the Enterprizes of the Lord-

(b) Sydney's Letters, V. 1. p. 38.—Wilkins Conc. T. 4. p. 296.—Hist. Cath. O'Sullivan, T. 2. L. 4. C. 17.—Hooker.—Camden.—Leland's History of Ireland, V. 2. B. 4. C. 2.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 201

Lord-Deputy (c); and that, landing the Artillery from the Ships, He, in the Course of a single Night, cut through a Bank which lay between the Shore, and the *Golden Fort* (d), drew up the Cannon, and completed the Battery. This quick, and spirited Achievement contributed, with the Measures that succeeded, to the Reduction of the Garrison, which surrendered at Discretion (e).

The next naval Expedition that demands our Notice, in this Place, was undertaken by *Charles Jackman*, and *Arthur Pett*, two experienced Pilots, who, by Order of the *Russian Company*, sailed with two Barks (equipped in the Port of *London*), to discover a Passage by the *North-East*, beyond *Weygatz*, and through the *North-ern*, *Cronian*, or *Frozen Ocean*, to *China*, and the *Indies* (f). They received the Commission for their Enterprize from *Sir Rowland Hayward*, and *Mr. George Barnes*, Aldermen, and Governors of the Company. The particular Instructions for their Conduct were delivered to Them by *Mr. William Burrough*, *Mr. Dee*, *Mr. Richard Hackluyt*, and *Mr. Gerard Mercator*. The *George*, commanded by Captain *Pett*, was of forty Tons Burthen, and the Crew consisted of nine Sailors, and a Boy; On Board the *William*, of twenty Tons Burthen, were Captain *Jackman*, five Men, and a Boy.

On the thirtieth of May, these Adventurers sailed from *Harwich*; and, on the twenty-second of the Month of June following, doubled the *North Cape* of

(c) The Lord Grey.

(d) So called by the Spaniards who had constructed it.

(e) Hooker.—Camden.—O'Sull. Hist. Cath.—Leland's History of Ireland, V. 2. B. 4. C. 2.

(f) Camden.—Harris's Col. Part 1. p. 535.—Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 433.—Lediard's Naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 433.

Norway, from whence They proceeded, the next Day, to *Wardhouse*, and remained there until the first of July. From this Place, *Arthur Pett* sailed alone for the Bay of *Pechora*, and left the *William*, which had sprung a Leak, and was otherwise damaged, to be refitted in the Harbour. In the Month of July, He reached the Coast of *Nova Zembla*, and even during the warmer Season, was obstructed by such mountainous Drifts of Ice, that it became difficult for the Vessel to force its Passage. At length, He arrived at the Streights of *Weygatz*, and drew as close in as the shoal Water would permit, having reached two Fathoms, and a Half. Afraid to venture farther, He sent the Boat to sound, but soon perceiving that there was not a Depth of Water sufficient for it to be rowed in, gave Orders for its Return, and, shortly afterwards set Sail for *Wardhouse*.

On the twenty-second of July, being much distressed, for Wood, and fresh Water, He bore in with an Island, where He had the good Fortune to find not only a great Quantity of Each, but a convenient Anchorage. At some Distance from the Shore, He perceived a Cross, at the Foot of which a dead Body had been buried. On this Monument, and the Stone beneath it, He carved his Name, to serve as an Evidence to *Yackman* (if He had landed on the Island,) that the late Companions of his Enterprize had arrived before Him.

On the twenty-fourth, the *William* came in Sight, but was impeded in its Course, by a vast Island of Ice, which floated between the two Ships. In the Morning, They got within Hail of each other, when it appeared that the *William* had been in great Distress, that the Stern-Post had been broken, and the Rudder so damaged as to be scarcely serviceable. When it was slightly repaired, the two Commanders agreed to sail
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together to the *Northward*. Accordingly, with the Wind at *West-North-West*, They proceeded, in Hopes that They should afterwards discover a Passage to the *Eastward*, but the enormous Masses of Ice so continually intercepted their Course, that they were unable to gain more than a League, in the space of a whole Day. They now began to despair of Success, and, therefore, resolved to steer their Course for *Weygatz*, and deliberate concerning those Measures which it might be necessary to pursue. On the sixteenth of August, They stood athwart of the *South-East* part of *Weygatz*, between the Ice, and the Shore; but were so impeded by the former, that all Attempt to force their Passage proved ineffectual. Endeavouring to cruize, the following Day, along the Shore, the *George* ran aground, but by the Assistance of the Mariners belonging to the *William*, was gotten off, without any considerable damage.

As the Winter approached, They perceived Themselves reduced to the absolute Necessity of relinquishing their Enterprize, and, accordingly, having hoisted in, and stowed their Boats, prepared for their return to *England*. On the twentieth, each of the Ships ran aground, where They remained all Night, but were not bilged. In the Morning the Wind veered to the *South-West*, and the Tide rose, when the Vessels were properly lightened, and immediately stood out to Sea.

On the twenty second, the *William* was again separated from the *George*; but the Latter proceeded on the Voyage, and, in nine Days, doubled the *North-Cape*. On the twenty-third of September, Captain *Pett* reached *Remesal* Sound in *Norway*.

On the seventh of October, the *George*, during a violent Tempest, parted from its Anchor, in *Moor* Sound, (near the *Norwegian* Coast,) and being driven,
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on a Ridge of Rocks was much shattered. The Leaks were, however, so effectually closed, that the Ship set Sail for *England*, and arrived, on the twenty-fifth of December following, at the Port of *London*.

In the preceding Month of October, the *William*, after a safe Passage, reached a Port between *Tronden*, and *Roslock*, in *Norway*, and remained there during the greater Part of the Winter. In February, of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty-one, the *William* sailed (in Company with the *Danish* Ship of War,) for *Ireland*, but was no more heard of. Thus ended this unsuccessful Voyage, by which the *English* were so discouraged that they did not, for a long Period, attempt to engage in any Enterprize of a similar Nature (g). At this Period, the *Grand Seigneur* extended, in Favour of all the *English* Merchants, those commercial Privileges which were before confined to some particular Individuals. To fix the Establishment of a general Trade to *Turkey*, on the firmest Basis, *Elizabeth* had concluded a Treaty (h) with this Prince, and issued her Letters Patent to Sir *Edward Osborne* Mr. *Richard Staper*, and the other Merchants of *London*, for the more effectual Furtherance, and Security of the *English* Traffic in those Dominions.

In a Work, the chief Object of which is to trace the Progress of our Navigation and Commerce, We think it necessary to present the Reader with a Translation of that early Grant of Privileges, in Consequence of which, the Intercourse between the two Nations hath much augmented the Opulence of each. It must, however be remarked with Regard to the *English*, and the *Turks*, that the commercial Advantages have inclined to the Side of the

(g) Camden.—Harris's Collection, Part 1. p. 533.—Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 433.

(h) 1581.

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the Former, who generally imported *raw* Goods, and exported such as were *fully* wrought.

Privileges granted by the *Grand Seignior* (i) for the better Establishment of the *Turkey Trade*.

I. OUR *Imperial* Command, and Pleasure is, that the People, and Subjects of the said Queen (*Elizabeth*) may safely, and peaceably come to Our Dominions, with their Goods, Merchandizes, Loadings, and Commodities, by Sea, in great, or small Vessels, and by Land, with their Carriages, and Cattle ; And that no Man shall do Them any Damage : But, on the Contrary, They shall buy, and sell, without any Impediment, and observe the Customs, and Orders of their own Country.

II. IF the said People, and Merchants shall, in the Course of their lawful Journeying, and Dealings, be any Way stayed, or detained, They shall be immediately freed, and set at Liberty, notwithstanding any Pretence, or Evasion to the Contrary.

III. WHENEVER They shall intend, or purpose to send any of their Ships to Our Ports, or Havens, it shall be lawful for them so to do, and again from thence, at Pleasure, to depart, without Let, or Impediment.

IV. IF it shall happen, that any of their Ships be in Danger, or Distress, in tempestuous Weather, and shall stand in Need of Our Help ; We will, and command, that Our Men, and Ships be ready to assist, and succour Them.

V. WHENEVER They shall have Occasion to buy Provisions, for their Money, They shall be at Liberty so to do, without any Opposition.

VI. IF,

(i) Harris.—Hackluyt, Part 2. p. 141.

VI. If, by any Casualty, Their Ships shall be driven on Shore, and in the Peril of Shipwreck, Our *Begs*, and Judges, and all other Our Subjects, shall aid, and assist Them, and such Goods, and Merchandizes of Theirs as shall be saved, shall be restored Them; And no Wrong be done Them, by any Man.

VII. WHEN any of the said Queen's Subjects, their Interpreters, and Merchants, shall, on Account of Trade, repair to Our Dominions, either by Land, or Sea, They shall have Quiet Passage, paying Our lawful Toll, and Custom: And none of Our Captains, or Governors of the Sea, and Ships, or any other Persons, whatsoever, shall any Way molest, or hurt Them, either in their Bodies, Goods, or Cattle.

VIII. If any *Englishman* become indebted to another Person, and abscond, so that he cannot be found, no other Person shall be arrested, or apprehended for his Debt, unless He hath been Surety for the same.

IX. If any *Englishman* shall make his Will, or Testament, it shall take Effect, and his Goods be delivered to his Heirs accordingly: And if any One die intestate, his Effects shall be disposed of according to the Will of the *English* Consul, for the Time being.

X. If any *Englishmen*, or the Merchants, and Interpreters belonging to any Places, under the Jurisdiction of the Queen of England, shall have any Controversy, or Dispute, concerning Trade, or any other Engagement, let Them go to the Judge, and cause their Matter to be recorded; And, if They please, take Copies of the same, attested by the Judge, to be produced, as may be necessary, and proceeded upon, according to the Tenour thereof. But, if such Matters should not be recorded, nor copies thereof taken, Yet the Judge shall admit of no false Evidence; But shall act according to Law, and Justice, and suffer no Wrong to be done Them.

XI. If,

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XI. If, at any Time, it shall be alledged, that an *Englisbman*, being a Christian, hath reviled, or spoken opprobriously of Our holy Faith, and Religion; In that Case, as in all Others, no false Evidence shall be admitted.

XII. If any *Englisbman* shall be guilty of a Crime, and thereupon abscond, no Person shall be arrested, or detained for another Man's Deed, unless He hath been Surety for Him.

XIII. If any Slave be reclaimed by the *Englisb* Consul, or Governor, He shall be strictly examined; And if it appear, that He is an *Englisbman*, He shall be discharged, and delivered to the Consul.

XIV. No *Englisbman*, who comes either to trade, or settle in Our Dominions, be He married, or a Bachelor, shall pay any Poll, or Head-Money.

XV. If the *Englisb* shall think fit to chuse, and establish Consuls, or Governors, for their Nation, either in *Alexandria, Damascus, Samos, Tunis, Tripoli*, in the *West*, the Ports of *Egypt*, or any other Places, in Our Dominions, They shall have Liberty so to do, and to remove, or change Them, at their Pleasure, without Let, or Molestation.

XVI. If, at any Time, their Interpreter be absent, on other weighty Affairs, any Matter, or Concern, for which his Presence is required, shall be deferred till his Return, and, in the mean Time, no One shall molest Them.

XVII. If any Difference, or Controversy arise between two *Englisbmen*, the Adjudging of which They are willing to refer to their Consul, no Man shall interrupt Them; But the Cause shall be determined, according to their own Customs.

XVIII. If, after the Date of this Privilege, any Pyrate, or other Captain of Ships, sailing the Seas, shall

XI. If,

shall take any *Englisbman*, and shall make Sale of him, either beyond, or on this Side of the Sea, the Matter shall be examined into, according to Justice ; And if the Person shall be found to be of the *Englisb* Nation, and shall embrace our Holy Religion, He shall be released : but if He still persist to be a *Christian*, He shall be restored to *Englisb* Nation, and the Buyers shall seek their Money again of Them who sold Him.

XIX. If any of Our own Ships of War shall, at any Time, meet any *Englisb* Ships, at Sea, laden with Merchandize, They shall suffer Them, peaceably, and as Friends, to pass, and not do Them any Wrong ; In the same Manner as the *French, Venetians*, and other Nations, our Confederates, are entitled to do, by Virtue of Articles, and Privileges granted Them, by Us, for that Purpose ; And let no Man presume to violate this Our divine Law, and Privilege.

XX. If any of their Ships, either great, or small, shall, in the Course of their Voyages, or, in any Harbour, into which They shall come, be stopped, or arrested, let no Man presume to detain Them ; but rather let Them be aiding, or assisting to Them.

XXI. If any Thieves, or Robbers shall forcibly take away any of their Ships, and Merchandizes, these Thieves, or Robbers, shall be diligently sought for, and be punished with all Severity.

XXII. LASTLY, all the *Beglerbegs*, and *Zanzibegs*, Our Captains, Our Slaves, and Servants of Captains, frequenting the Seas ; As likewise all Our Judges, Officers of Our Customs ; and Commanders of Ships called *Reiz*, and free *Reiz*, all These shall be obliged to conform to the Tenour of these Articles, and Privileges ; And as long as the *Queen of England*, on her Part shall duly keep, and strictly observe the League, and Peace, expressed in this Privilege, We, also, on

Our

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Our Part, do charge, and command the same, so long, to be strictly kept, and observed.

GIVEN at *Constantinople*, in the nine hundred, and eighty-eighth Year of Our most *Holy Prophet*, in the Beginning of the Month of June, and, in the Year of *Jesui*, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty.

The Letters Patent granted by *Elizabeth*, for the Encouragement of the *Turkey Trade*, are so exceedingly diffuse that it would be inconvenient to swell out the Work, with every Article which They contain. Suffice it, therefore, to observe that They were issued to Sir *Edward Osborne*, *Thomas Smith*, Esquire, *Richard Staper*, and *William Garret*, of *London*, Merchants, their Executors, and Administrators, and to such Persons as Sir *Edward Osborne*, and *Richard Staper*, exclusive of the other two Patentees, should nominate, and appoint, as their Copartners, not exceeding the Number of twelve, the four first nominated included, and two other Persons to be chosen, by the Crown, with Privilege, for the Term of seven Years, to trade, and traffic, exclusive of all Others, to, and from the Dominions of the *Grand Seignior*, with Liberty of making By-Laws, &c. Sir *Edward Osborne* was appointed Governor of the Society for the succeeding seven Years, or in Case of his Demise, Mr. *Richard Staper*. In Case, also of his Death, before that Time, then a Governor to be elected, by the Society, for the Residue of the Term. On the Tops of their Ships, They were permitted to carry the Arms of *England*, underneath a red Cross. The Society was obliged, after the first Year of Incorporation, annually to export, and import, such a Quantity of Goods, and Merchandize, that the Custom, and Subsidy thereon, should amount to five hundred Pounds, provided that They, or their

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Ships,

Ships, did not meet with any Hinderance, or Misfortune in Trade that might prevent it.

These are the principal Articles of the Letters Patent, which were dated on the eleventh of September, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty-one. They were no sooner granted than several Adventurers undertook Voyages to different Parts of the *Levant* (A). Of These, the most particular will be mentioned in the Course of our Work.

The geographical Mistakes of distant Nations, but little connected with the other Quarters of the World, although natural, are amusing; and the Reader will smile at being told, that until the Establishment of the *Turkey Trade*, in this Reign, the *Grand Seignior*, and his Subjects, had always imagined *England* to be a Province dependent on the Kingdom of *France* (I).

It was in this Year that *Elizabeth* sent *Peregrine Bertie* (whom she had created Baron *Willoughby*, of *Eresby*), with the Order of the Garter, to *Frederick*, the Second, King of *Denmark*, and instructed Him to apply for a Remittance (in Favour of the *English Merchants*), of certain Customs, paid by Ships, in passing the Sound. In the latter Part of his Negotiation, the Lord *Willoughby* was unsuccessful; but the Garter, a Bauble of less Consequence than the lowest Article of Commerce, was accepted (M).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty-three, *Elizabeth* sent Sir *Jerome Bowes*, on an Embassy to the Czar of *Muscovy*. He was accompanied by the *Russian Plenipotentiary*, who, having executed his Commission at the *English Court*, was ordered,

(A) Harris.—Hackluyt.

(I) Birch's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 36.

(M) Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 87. 408.—Styrye's Annals, V. 2. p. 670.

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ed, by his Sovereign, to return. The Queen's Minister, soon after his arrival at *Moscow*, had obtained a Promise that the *English* should enjoy an Augmentation of their commercial Privileges, in that Country: But when the Instrument was in Readiness for signing, the Czar died, and his Son, and Successor, *Theodore*, refused to ratify it (n). In Justice to the exemplary Conduct of this Prince, it must be observed that his Father, *John Basilides*, designed to have invested the Subjects of *Elizabeth*, with a Monopoly of the *Russian* Trade. *Theodore*, whose Sentiments were more liberal, and judicious, reduced Them to the bare enjoyment of those Immunities which had been conferred on the Merchants of other Countries. When the Queen complained, by her Ambassador, of this Proceeding, the Czar (whom the polished Inhabitants of *Europe* had ranked among *Barbarians*,) replied, with equal Spirit, and Discernment, that no Motive should oblige Him to change his Determination, whilst He recollected that it was the Duty of all Princes to take effectual Care that the Advantages of Commerce should be extended as equally as possible to his Subjects, and to Foreigners; and that Trade which, by the Law of Nations, ought to be common to All, should never be converted into a Monopoly for the private Gain of the Few (o). He, notwithstanding, permitted the *English* to retain some Privileges, in Consideration of their having first opened an Intercourse between *Europe*, and his Dominions.

In the Year, one Thousand; five Hundred, and Eighty-five, Sir *Bernard Drake*, a Gentleman of *Devonshire*, sailed to *Newfoundland*, with a Squadron of Ships of War, and, having taken several *Portuguese* Vessels,

(n) Hackluyt, Part 1. p. 455.

(o) Camden, p. 493.

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Vessels, (freighted with Fish, and Oil,) returned with his Prizes to *England*. It must be observed that, although the *French*, and *Portuguese*, were accustomed to fish on the great Bank of *Newfoundland*, the *English* considered Themselves as the real Lords, and Proprietors of the Country (p).

At this Period, also, the Queen contributed, by her Patronage, to the Establishment of a Trade to *Barbary*. The Particulars of this Transaction will be more fully known to the Reader, by an Insertion of

The Letters Patent, or Privileges, granted by the Queen to certain Noblemen, and Merchants of *London*, for a Trade to *Barbary*, in the Year one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty-five.

ELIZABETH, by the Grace of GOD, Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. to the Treasurer, and Barons of Our *Exchequer*, and to all Mayors, Sheriffs, Constables, Customers, Collectors of Our Customs, and Subsidies, Comptrollers, Searchers, and Keepers of Our Havens, and Creeks, Ports, and Passages, within this Our Realm of *England*, and the Dominions of the same; and to all our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, and to all other whomsoever, to whom it shall, or may appertain, and to every of Them, Greeting. Whereas it is made evidently, and apparently known unto Us, that of late Years, Our right trusty, and well-beloved Counsellors, *Ambrose*, Earl of *Warwick*, and *Robert*, Earl of *Leicester*, and also Our loving, and natural Subjects, *Thomas Starkie*, of Our City of *London*, Alderman, *Gerrard Gore*, the Elder, and all his Sons, *Thomas Gore*, the Elder, *Arthur Attie*, Gentleman, and thirty-six Others, all

(p) British Empire in America.

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all of *London*, Merchants, now trading into the Country of *Barbary*, in the Parts of *Africa*, under the Government of *Muly Hamet Sheriffe*, Emperor of *Morocco*, and King of *Fez*, and *Suz*, have sustained great, and grievous Losses, and are like to sustain greater, if it should not be prevented. In tender Consideration whereof, and for that divers Merchandizes of the same Countries are very necessary, and convenient, for the Use, and Defence of this Our Realm of *England*, and for divers other Causes, Us specially moving, minding the Relief, and Benefit of Our said Subjects, and the quiet Traffic, and good Government to be had, and used among Them, in their said Trade, of Our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, have given, and granted, and by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, do give, and grant, unto the said Earls of *Warwick*, and *Leicester*, *Thomas Starkie*, *Gerrard Gore*, the Elder, *Arthur Attie*, Gentleman, &c. that They, and every of Them, by Themselves, or by their Factors, or Servants, and none Others, shall, and may, for, and during the Space of twelve Years, have, and enjoy the whole Freedom, and Liberty, in the said Traffic, or Trade unto, or from the said Country of *Barbary*, or to, or from any Part thereof, for the buying, and selling of all Manner of Wares, and Merchandizes, whatsoever, that now, or accustomably heretofore have been brought, or transported, from, or to the said Country of *Barbary*, or from, or to any of the said Cities, Towns, Places, Ports, Roads, Havens, Harbours, or Creeks, of the said Country of *Barbary*, any Law, Statute, Grant, Matter, Customs, or Privileges, to the Contrary, in any Wise notwithstanding.

AND for the better establishing, ordering, and governing of the said Earls of *Warwick*, and *Leicester*,

Thomas Starkie, &c. abovesaid, their Factors, Servants, and Assigns, in the Trade abovesaid, We, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, do, by these Presents, give, and grant full Licence to the said *Thomas Starkie*, *Gerrard Gore*, the Elder, and the Rest abovesaid, and to every of Them, from Time, to Time, during the said Term of twelve Years, at their Pleasures, to assemble, and meet together in any Place or Places convenient, within our City of *London*, or elsewhere, to consult of, and for the said Trade; and with the Consent of the said Earl of *Leicester*, to make, and establish good, and necessary Orders, and Ordinances, for, and touching the same; And all such Orders, and Ordinances so made, to put in Use, and execute, and Them, or any of Them, with the Consent of the said Earl of *Leicester*, to alter, change, and make void, and, if need be, to make new; as, at any Time, during the said Term, They, or the most Part of Them, then living, and trading, shall find convenient.

PROVIDED always, that the Ordinances, or any of Them, be not contrary, or repugnant to the Laws, Statutes, or Customs of this Our Realm of *England*. And to the Intent, that They only to whom the said Liberty of Traffic is granted, by these Our Letters Patent, and none other, Our Subjects, whatsoever, without their special Consent, and Licence before had, should, during the said Term, have Trade, and Traffic, for any Manner of Merchandizes, to, or from the said Country of *Barbary*, or, to, or from any City, Town, Place, Port, Harbour, or Creek, within the said Country of *Barbary*, to, or out of Our said Realm, and Dominions, We do, by these Presents, strictly charge, command, and prohibit all, and every Our Subjects, whatsoever, other than only the said Earls of *Warwick* and *Leicester*, *Thomas Starkie*, and the Rest, abovesaid, and every of Them

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Them by Themselves, or by their Factors, or Servants, during the said Term, to trade, or traffic, for, or with any Merchandizes, to, or from the said Country of *Barbary*, or to, or from any of the Dominions of the same, as they tender Our Favour, and will avoid Our high Displeasure, and upon Pain of Imprisonment of his, and their Bodies, at our Will, and Pleasure, and of forfeiting all their Merchandizes, or the full Value thereof, wherewith They, or any of Them, during the said Term, shall Trade, or Traffic, to, or from the said Country of *Barbary*, or to, or from the Dominions of the same, contrary to this Our Privilege, and Prohibition, unless it be by, and with the express Licence, Consent, and Agreement of the said Earls of *Warwick*, and *Leicester*, &c. or by, and with the express Licence, and Consent of the more Part of Them, then living, and trading, first had, and obtained, so always that the said Earl of *Leicester* be One, if He be living.

AND We farther, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, of Our special Grace, mere Motion, and certain Knowledge, do grant to the said Earls of *Warwick*, and *Leicester*, *Thomas Starkie*, and the Rest abovesaid, and to every of Them, that nothing shall be done, to be of Force, or Validity, touching the said Trade, or Traffic, or the Exercise thereof, without, or against the Consent of the said Earls, *Thomas Starkie*, (and the Others before named) during the Time of these Our Letters Patent, for twelve Years, as aforesaid.

AND for that the said Earls, *Thomas Starkie*, &c. and every of Them aforesaid, should not be prevented, or interrupted in this their said Trade, We do, by these Presents, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, streightly prohibit, and forbid all Manner of Person, or Persons, as well Strangers, of what Nation, or Country soever,

as Our own Subjects, other than only the said Earls, *Thomas Starkie*, &c. and every of Them, as aforesaid, that They, or any of Them, from henceforth, during the said Term of twelve Years, do, or shall bring, or cause to be brought, into this Our Realm of *England*, or to any of the Dominions thereof, any Manner of Merchandizes, whatsoever, growing, or being made, within the said Country of *Barbary*, or within any the Dominions thereof, unless it be, by, and with Licence, Consent, and Agreement of the said Earls, *Thomas Starkie*, &c. or with the Consent, and Licence of the more Part of Them, then living, first had, and obtained, so always that the said Earl of *Leicester* (if He be living,) be One, under the Pain that every One that shall offend, or do against this our present Prohibition, here last abovementioned, in these Presents, shall forfeit, and lose all, and singular the said Merchandizes, to be landed in any Our Realms, and Dominions, contrary to the Tender, and true Meaning of this Our Prohibition, in that Behalf provided, the one Moiety of all, and every which said Forfeitures, whatsoever, mentioned, or specified in These Our present Letters Patent, shall be to Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, and the other Moiety of all, and every the said Forfeitures, We do, by these Presents, of Our certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, clearly, and wholly, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, give, and grant, unto the said Earls, *Thomas Starkie*, &c. and these Our Letters Patent upon the only Sight thereof, without any farther Warrant, shall be sufficient Authority to Our Treasurer of *England*, for the Time being, to Our Barons of the Exchequer, and to all other Our Officers, that shall have to deal in this Behalf, to make full Allowance unto the said Earls, *Thomas Starkie*, &c. their Deputies, or Assigns, of the
one

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one Moiety of all, and singular the Goods, Merchandizes, and Things, whatsoever, mentioned in these our present Letters Patent, to be forfeited at any Time, or Times, during the said Term of twelve Years, which said Allowance We do streightly charge, and command, from Time, to Time, to be made to the said Earls, *Thomas Starkie*, &c. and to every of Them, accordingly, without any Manner of Delay, or Denial of any of Our Officers, whatsoever, as they tender Our Favour, and the Furtherance of Our good Pleasure. And We do streightly charge, and command, and, by these Presents, prohibit all, and singular Customers, and Collectors of Our Customs, and Subsidies, and Comptrollers of the same, of, and within Our City, and Port of *London*, and all other Ports, Creeks, and Places, within this Our Realm of *England*, and every of Them, that They, nor any of Them take, or perceive, or cause, or suffer to be taken, received, or perceived for Us, and in Our Name, or to Our Use, or to the Uses of Our Heirs, or Successors, of any Person, or Persons, any Sum, or Sums of Money, or other Things whatsoever, during the said Term of twelve Years, for, and in the Name, and Lieu, or Place, of any Custom, Subsidy, and other Thing, or Duties to us, our Heirs, or Successors, due, or to be due, for the Customs, and Subsidies of any Merchandizes whatsoever, growing, being made, or coming out of the said Country of *Barbary*, or out of the Dominions thereof, nor make, cause, nor suffer to be made any Entry into Our, or their Books of Customs, and Subsidies, nor make any Agreements for the Subsidies, and Customs, of, and for any the said Merchants, saving, only with, and in the Name of the said Earls, *Thomas Starkie*, &c. or the most Part of Them, as They, and every one of Them, will answer at their uttermost Perils, to the Contrary. And for the better,

and

and more sure Observation of this Our Grant, We will, and grant, for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, by these Presents, that the Treasurer, and Barons of Our Exchequer, for the Time being, by Force of this Our Grant, or Inrolment thereof, in the said Court, at all, and every Time, and Times, during the said Term of twelve Years, at, and upon the Request made unto Them, by the said Earls, *Thomas Starkie*, &c. or by the Attorneys, Factors, Deputies, or Assigns of Them, or the most Part of them then living, and trading, shall, and may, make, and direct, under the Seal of the said Exchequer, one, or more sufficient Writ, or Writs, Close, or Patents, unto every, or any of Our said Customers, Collectors, or Comptrollers, of Our Heirs, and Successors, in all, and every, or to any Port, or Ports, Creek, Haven, or other Places, within this Our Realm of *England*, as the said Earls, *Thomas Starkie*, &c. or any the Attornies, Factors, Deputies, or Assigns of Them, or the most Part of Them, then living, and trading, shall, at any Time, require, commanding, and streightly charging Them, and every of Them, that They, nor any of Them, at any Time, or Times, during the said Term of twelve Years, make any Entry of any Wares, or Merchandizes, whatsoever, growing, being made, or coming out from the said Country of *Barbary*, or the Dominions thereof, nor receive, or take any Custom, Subsidy, or other Entries, or make any Agreement for the same, other than with, or in the Name of the said Earls, *Thomas Starkie*, &c. the Factor, or Factors, Deputies, or Assigns of Them, or the most Part of Them, then living, and trading, according to this our Grant, and the true Meaning thereof, and according to our said Will, and Pleasure, before in these Presents declared. In Witness whereof, We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent.

Wit-

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Witness Ourselves at *Westminster*, the fifth Day of July, in the twenty-seventh Year of Our Reign.

Immediately on the Incorporation of the Society, the Queen appointed *Henry Roberts*, Esquire, her Ambassador to *Muley Hamet*, Emperor of *Morocco*, and King of *Fez*, and *Suz*. Having received his Letters, and Instructions, He sailed from *London*, on the fourteenth of August, in a large Ship, named the *Ascension*, accompanied by the *Minion*, and the *Hopewell*. These arrived safely, on the fourteenth of September, at *Azafi*, a Port of *Barbary*. Here, the Ambassador was received with all the Ceremony, and Respect which had, at any Time, been paid to the Representatives of Princes. He accepted of the necessary Supplies from the Inhabitants, and departed from *Morocco*, with Mr. *Richard Evans*, Mr. *Edward Salcot*, and other *English* Merchants who had settled at *Azafi*. At the Court of *Muley Hamet*, He found a gracious Reception, and during a Residence of three Years, was continually honoured with the royal Favour. Concerning the Success of his Negotiations, We have no particular Account. The reason of this Deficiency, is best explained in his own Words: "During the Space I abode in this Court as her Majesty's Agent, whensoever my Business required it, I was admitted either to his Majesty himself, or to his Vice-Roy, a very wise, and discreet Person. The Particulars of my Service, for divers good and reasonable Causes, I forbear here to put down in Writing (q)." The only information, relative to the Success of this Embassy, is contained in the three following Pieces (r).

COPY

(q) Hackluyt.

(r) Ibid.

COPY of an Edict, or Privilege granted by Muley Hamet, King of Fez, and Emperor of Morocco, (That no Englishmen, should be molested, or made Slaves, in any Part of his Dominions,) obtained by the aforesaid Mr. Henry Roberts.

“ IN the Name of the most gracious, and merciful, GOD, &c. The Servant of the supreme GOD, the Conqueror of his Cause, the Successor advanced by GOD, the Emperor of the *Moors*, the Son of the Emperour of the *Moors*, the *Jariffe*, the *Haceny*, whose Honor God long increafe, and advance his Estate. This Our princely Commandment is delivered into the Hands of the *English* Merchants, who remain in the Protection of Our stately Palaces. To the End that all Men which shall see this present Writing, may understand that our princely Counsel will defend Them, by the Favour of GOD, from any Thing that may molest, or hurt Them, in what Sort soever They shall be wronged; and that, which Way soever They shall travel, no Man shall take them Captives in these Our Kingdoms, Ports, and Places, which belong unto Us, which also may protect, and defend Them, by Our Authority, from any Molestation whatsoever; and that no Man shall hinder Them, by laying violent Hands on Them, and shall not give Occasion that They may be grieved, in any Sort, by the Favour, and Assistance of GOD. And We charge, and command Our Officers of our Havens, and Fortresses, and all Such as bear any Authority in these Our Dominions, and likewise all the common People, that in no Wise They do molest Them, in such Sort that They be no Way offended, or wronged. And this Our Commandment shall

“ re-

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" remain inviolable, being registered in the Midst of
 " the Month of *Rabel*, in the Year nine Hundred, and
 " Ninety-six.

THE Date of this Letter agrees with the twentieth of
 March, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hun-
 dred, and Eighty-seven, which I, Abdel Rach-
 man el Catan, Interpreter for his Majesty have
 translated out of the Arabian, into Spanish, Word for
 Word, as is contained therein, and in Witness here-
 of, have subscribed my Name as aforesaid.

Abdel Rachman el Catan.

COPY of a Letter from Muley Hamet, King of Fez, and
 Emperor of Morocco, to the Earl of Leicester.

In the Name of the most gracious and merciful GOD.

" THE Blessing of GOD light upon our Lord and Pro-
 phet, *Mahomet*, and those that are obedient unto
 Him.

" The Servant of GOD, both mighty in War, and
 " mightily exalted, by the Grace of GOD, *Myra Mo-*
 " *many*, the *Jariff*, the *Haceny*, whose Kingdoms
 " GOD maintain, and Advance his Authority, unto
 " the right famous, right noble, and highly esteemed,
 " Earl of *Leicester*, after due Praise given unto GOD,
 " and due Blessings and Salutations rendered unto the
 " Prophet *Mahomet*. These are to give you to under-
 " stand, that Your Letters arrived here, in Our roy-
 " al Court, and We well perceive the Contents there-
 " of. And Your Ambassador who remains here, in
 " Our Court, told us the Cause of the Slowness of the
 " Gages, or Pledges, until this Time, which Reckon-
 " ing We accept of, and hold Ourselves as satisfied.
 " And as touching the Matters, whereof You write
 " unto Us, concerning *John Herman*, and the self same
 " Com-

" Complaint which Your Ambassador made of Him,
 " before the Coming of Your Letter, We had already
 " commanded Him to be taken; whereupon He still
 " remains in Hold, and shall so continue, until farther
 " Justice be done upon Him, according to his Desert.
 " And so Our Lord keep You in his Safe-guard.
 " Written at our royal Court in *Morocco*, which God
 " maintain, the twentieth Day of the Month *Remedan*,
 " in our Year, nine Hundred, and Ninety-six.

COPY of a Letter, from *Queen Elizabeth*, to Muley Ha-
 met, King of Fez, and Emperor of Morocco.

" RIGHT high, and mighty Prince; Having
 " understood, from Our Agent, the great Affection,
 " and good Will, which You bear towards Us, and
 " how great Honour, and Favour You shew Him for
 " Our sake, and to give Us more ample Testimony of
 " Your Friendship, We have received very great Plea-
 " sure, and Satisfaction, as well of the one, as of the
 " other; and with all We could not omit to magnify
 " You, according to your Desert. We have also re-
 " ceived your Letters, and do not a little rejoice at
 " Them, because they come from a Prince to whom
 " We are so much beholden. Our Ambassador hath
 " written unto Us concerning certain Things, which
 " You desire to be sent unto You from hence; and al-
 " though We wish that We could particularly satisfy
 " You, as You desire, yet it happens, that the Wars,
 " in which We are, at this Time, engaged, will not
 " suffer Us fully to do the same; Nevertheless, We
 " have commanded, to satisfy You in Part, and as far
 " as the present Necessity will permit Us, as Our Agent
 " will declare unto you more particularly, hoping You
 " will receive in good Part, according to the good
 " Will, wherewith We grant the same.

" AND

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"AND because it hath been signified unto Us, that
 " You have promised to proceed in Justice, against
 " one *John Herman*, Our Subject, who hath grievous-
 " ly offended Us, in such Manner as we have sent
 " Word unto You, We have given Order unto our
 " said Agent, to inform You more particularly in that
 " which We desire to be done in this Business, pray-
 " ing You also to command the same to be put in Ex-
 " ecution : And that it would please You always to fa-
 " vour Our said Agent, and to hold Him in good Cre-
 " dit, as You have done hitherto, not suffering Your-
 " self to be changed in Your Opinion, for all the false
 " Reports which may be raised against Him, nor to
 " doubt that We will not accomplish at large all that
 " He shall promise You in Our Behalf. Our Lord
 " keep, and preserve your right high and mighty
 " Person. Written in Our royal Court, at *Greenwich*,
 " on the twentieth of July, in the Year, one Thou-
 " sand, five Hundred, and Eighty-seven."

It need only be added that the Ambassador was ac-
 companied, on his Return to *England*, by *Marsbock*
Reiz, the Plenipotentiary from the Emperor.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and
 Eighty-five, an Event happened which left the *English*
 no Room to doubt of the hostile Intentions of the King
 of *Spain*. A Ship, named the *Primrose*, of the Bur-
 then of one hundred, and fifty Tons, equipped at the
 Port of *London*, and commanded by Captain *Forster*,
 had dropped Anchor, without the Bay of *Bilboa*. On
 the twenty-sixth of May, and soon after her Arrival,
 seven Persons, who, by their Habits, appeared to be
Biscayan Merchants, quitted a *Spanish* Pinnace, which
 had been rowed from the Shore, and came on Board.
 Having addressed the Captain with the warmest Profes-

sions

"AND

sions of Friendship, They offered Him some choice Fruit, which He accepted, and, in Return, invited Them to partake of such Entertainment as the Ship afforded. After a short Stay, three of the Company returned, in the same Pinnace. The Rest continued drinking with *Foster*, and affected to be elevated by their Liquor, and charmed with the Politeness of their Reception.

Under all this Gaiety, the Captain imagined that He had discovered a Design to seize the Ship, and imprison the Crew. He, therefore, without relaxing his hospitable Attention to his Visitors, communicated his Suspicions to the Sailors, and gave Orders that They should stand upon their Guard. Soon afterwards, a large Boat, in which were seventy Persons, appeared in Sight, and were followed by the Pinnace, on Board of which were twenty-four *Spaniards*, apparelled, like the Rest, as Merchants of *Biscay*. When all These had reached the Ship, Five, immediately, entered it, and desired Admittance for their Companions. *Foster*, whose Crew amounted only to twenty-seven Men, now peremptorily insisted that none of the *Spaniards* (the Nine excepted who were on Board,) should leave their Boats. With this Condition, All promised their Compliance, when on a Sudden, a Signal was given by the Beat of Drum, and every *Spaniard* brandishing his Rapier, and other Weapons which They, before, had carefully concealed, rushed, with great Fury, into the Ship, and posting Themselves in different Parts, appeared to wait, but with much Impatience, for the Word of Command. At length, one of the first Visitors discovered Himself to be the *Corregidor*; and, when an Officer standing next to Him, and to whom He had made a Sign, produced a white Wand, He cried out to the Captain, "*Tield, You are the Prisoner of the King of Spain.*" At this Instant

Instant, *Foster* gave the Alarm, and exclaimed, "*We are betrayed.*" The *Spaniards* immediately planted their Daggers at his Breast, and declared, that in Case of the least Resistance, They would stab him to the Heart.

The Crew were, notwithstanding, determined to conquer their Assailants, or perish in the Enterprize. After a desperate Conflict, They became victorious. A Part of the *English* had secured Themselves between Decks, and, firing on the *Spaniards*, through the Gratings, were so fortunate as to kill such Numbers, that the few Survivors implored the Captain to prevail on his Seamen to desist. He replied that, so resolute were the Subjects of *Elizabeth*, in the Defence of Life, and Liberty, that if He offered to restrain Them, it was more than probable that He might fall a Sacrifice to their Fury. Driven to Despair by this Answer, They plunged into the Sea, and attempted to regain the Boats, which had rowed, for Safety, to a considerable Distance. So many of the *Spaniards* were perceived struggling for their Lives, on the Surface of the Ocean, and far beyond the Reach of any Succour, that the *English* had but little Reason to be alarmed, lest Some should have escaped on Shore, to tell the Fate of their Companions. Four, whose Wounds were bleeding, endeavoured, but in vain, to scramble up the sides of the Vessel. The Captain observing that They were on the Point of expiring, humanely directed the Sailors to assist Them in their Attempts to come on Board, provided Them with every necessary Refreshment, and strictly charged the Surgeon to exert his utmost Skill for the Preservation of their Lives. Thus ended this gallant Action, in which twenty-eight *Englishmen* gained a compleat Victory over ninety-seven *Spaniards*, losing only one Man, and having six wounded. A

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longer Stay might have proved fatal, and, therefore, the Captain immediately weighed Anchor, and stood out to Sea, notwithstanding that He had landed, at *Bilboa*, upwards of twenty Tons of Goods, and left two of the Mariners on Shore. In a few Days after his Departure, the four *Spaniards* who (having defended their Bosoms by a Covering of thick Paper,) were not mortally wounded, had gathered sufficient Strength to walk the Deck, and enter into Conversation with the Crew. Being informed that the *Prinrese* was now bound for *England*, They earnestly intreated that They might be allowed to land at the next Sea-Port, and offered to reward the Captain, in Case of a Compliance, with a considerable Sum. *Foster* rejected his Proposals, and upbraided the *Corregidor* (who was one of the *Spaniards*;) with having basely violated the Laws of Hospitality, and not only in the Time of declared Peace, between the two Nations, but in the Hour of Festivity amongst Themselves, commanded an armed Multitude, whom He had brought thither, for that Purpose, to seize the Ship, and, at least, confine, if not massacre the whole Crew. In Vindication of his Conduct, He pleaded his Authority from *Philip*, and produced his Commission which (being one Cause of the ensuing Rupture between *Spain*, and *England*;) is here presented to the Reader.

“ To the *Corregidor* of the *Seignory* of *Biscay*.”

“ I have caused a great Fleet to be put in Readiness,
 “ in the Haven of *Lisbon*, and in the River of *Sevil*;
 “ And there is required, for the Soldiers, Armour, Vic-
 “ tuals, and Munition, which are to be employed in the
 “ same great Store of Shipping, of all Sorts, against the
 “ Time of Service; and to the End there may be Choice
 “ made of the best, upon Knowledge of their Quanti-
 “ ties,

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and, therefore,
chor, and stood
d landed, at *Bil-*
and left two of
after his Depart-
fended their Bo-
ere not mortal-
rength to walk
with the Crew.
now bound for
They might be
nd offered to re-
pliance, with a
Proposals, and
e of the *Spani-*
aws of Hospita-
clared Peace, be-
our of Festivity
rmed Multitude,
hat Purpose, to
not massacre the
nduct, He plead-
duced his Comm-
enfuing Rupture
presented to the

y of *Biscay*.”
out in Readiness,
River of *Sevil*;
rs, Armour, Vic-
employed in the
Sorts, against the
re may be Choice
of their Quanti-
ties,

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ties, and Qualities, I do, therefore, require You, that
“ immediately after the Arrival of this Courier, and
“ with as much *Diffimulation* as may be, (that your
“ Design may not be known until it be put in Execu-
“ tion,) that You give Orders for the stopping, and
“ arresting (with all possible Foresight,) all the Shipping
“ that shall be found upon the Coast, and in the Ports
“ of the said Seignory, excepting none, of *Holland, Zea-*
“ *land, Easterland, Germany, England,* and other Pro-
“ vinces, that are in *Rebellion* against Me, saving Those
“ of *France*, which, being of small Burden, and no
“ Force, are deemed unfit for the Service.
“ And They being, in this Manner, stopped, You
“ are to have especial Care that such Merchandizes, as
“ the said Ships, or Hulks have brought, whether They
“ be all, or Part unladen, may be taken out; and that
“ the Armour, Munition, Tackling, Sails, and Pro-
“ visions, may be safely bestowed; And also that You
“ have Care, that none of the said Ships, or their Men,
“ escape. All which Things being thus executed,
“ You are to advise Me, by a Messenger sent express
“ for that Purpose of Your Proceedings therein; And
“ You are to send Me a plain, and distinct Declaration
“ of the Number of Ships, which You shall have, in
“ such Manner, stopped on your Coasts, and Parts;
“ viz. Whence every such Ship, belonging to my Re-
“ bele, is come? Of what Burden They are, and what
“ Goods are in Them? What Number of Men is in
“ every one of Them? And what Quantity of Armour,
“ Ordnance, Munitions, Provisions, Tackling, and
“ other Necessaries, They have on Board? To the
“ End, that, upon the Sight thereof, having made Choice
“ of such as shall be fit for Service, I may farther di-
“ rect You what You have to do. In the mean Time,
“ You are to see this My Command immediately put

" in Execution ; And, if there come any more Ships
 " thither, hereafter, You shall also cause them to be
 " stopped, and arrested, according to the same Order,
 " using therein such Care, and Diligence, as may an-
 " swer to the Confidence which I repose in You,
 " wherein You will render Me infinite Service. Dated
 " at *Barcelona*, the twenty-ninth of *May*, in the Year,
 " One Thousand, Five Hundred, and Eighty-Five."

On the eighth of June, Captain *Foster* arrived at *London*, and surrendered his Prisoners to the Officers appointed to detain Them, for a stricter Examination (s).

At the Commencement of the succeeding Year, the incorporated *Turkey Company* received authentic Information that the King of *Spain* had directed the Commanders of his Gallies, in the *Levant*, to intercept, and seize all English Merchantmen, which They should observe sailing on the *Mediterranean*. Accordingly as a Defence against expected Hostilities, five Ships, equally fitted out for the Purposes of War, and Commerce, sailed from the Coast of *England*, in the Month of November following. Of the largest, the *Merchant-Royal*, *Edward Williamson* was Captain, and acted, also, as Commander in Chief of the whole Squadron. The Names of the remaining four Ships, were the *Toby*, the *Edward Bonaventure*, the *William*, and *John*, and the *Susan*. Soon after their Arrival at the Island of *Sicily*, it was agreed to separate, and that Each should proceed singly to the different Ports appointed by the Company. The Rendezvous, fixed on at the Return, was the Island *Zante*, there to wait, either until the Squadron should have joined, or during the Space of twenty Days.

The first Ship which returned to the Isle of *Sicily*, was the *Toby*, from *Constantinople*; next came the *Mer-*
chant-

(s) Hackluyt. V. 2. Part 2. p. 112.

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chant-Royal, and the *William*, and *John*, from *Tripoli*; and last, but within the Time limited, the *Edward-Bonaventure*, and the *Susan*, from *Venice*.

Whilst They remained at *Zante*, to take in Provisions, and different Necessaries, They were informed that the *Spaniards* had fitted out two Fleets, the One consisting of thirty, and the Other of twenty Gallies, in Order to intercept Them on their Return. Not intimidated by this Account, They proceeded on their Voyage, and arrived unmolested within Sight of *Pantalea*, an Island between *Sicily*, and the Coast of *Africa*. Here, on the thirteenth of July, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty-six, and at Break of Day, They discovered thirteen Sail, which, on a nearer Approach, were known to be eleven Gallies, and two Frigates, bearing the Colours of *Sicily*, and *Malta*, the Ships of which Islands were then in the Service, and the Pay of *Spain*. As the *English* were preparing for the Engagemient, the two Frigates dropped along Side, when an Officer directed the Captains, and Purfers, to repair, immediately, on Board one of the Gallies, to the *Spanish* General, *Don Pedro de Leiva*, who was waiting to receive their Obedience, and acquaint Them with his farther Pleasure. Such an Order was heard with equal Indignation, and Contempt, nor was it easy, after this Affront, to persuade the *English* to send Mr. *Rowet*, one of their Super-Cargoes, to the *Spanish* Admiral, who had solemnly protested that He should not be detained. At this Interview, the *Spaniard* haughtily insisted that the *English* should surrender Themselves Prisoners at Discretion. The Super-Cargo scornfully rejected his Demand, and immediately departed.

Soon afterwards, the *Spanish* Admiral fired a Shot of Defiance, and, having been answered, in like Manner,

by the *Merchant-Royal*, made the Signal for engaging. After an obstinate Fight of five Hours, such Numbers of the Enemy had been killed, and their Gallies were so shattered, that the Victory seemed to declare in Favour of the *English*. At this Moment the Admiral of the *Sicilian* Gallies, almost on the Point of sinking, attempted to sheer off, and was followed by two Others, in the same Condition. From the feeble Operations of the remaining eight Gallies, it appeared that They had not Men sufficient to exercise their Guns, and that it was not without the greatest Difficulty that They made off towards the Shore, and left the Sea open for the *English* to pursue their Voyage. At a Consultation on Board the *Merchant-Royal*, it was resolved (although but two Men had fallen in the Engagement,) not to expose their deeply-freighted Vessels, to the least Danger, by chasing, too near the Shore, the Gallies of the *Spaniards*, from whom no considerable Booty could be expected.

At the Streight's Mouth, the other Squadron of the Enemy appeared in Sight. Soon afterwards, a thick Fog arose, and the Wind changed suddenly to the *Eastward*. Favoured by these Circumstances, the *English* sailed within Half a League of the *Spaniards*, unperceived, and arrived, without farther Interruption, at *Southampton* (i).

Such, on the side of *Philip*, were the Hostilities which (without a formal Declaration of War) had preceded the equipment of his *invincible Armada*. *Elizabeth*, with equal Fortitude, and Wisdom, had zealously attended (during the Preparations of a powerful Enemy, for the Invasion of her Dominions) to the Increase of the Marine, and the Establishment of Commerce (u). Private Adventurers,

(i) Hackluyt, V. 2. Part 2. p. 285.

(u) Stowe.—Speed.—Bohun.—Lord Bacon's Character of Elizabeth.

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Adventurers, encouraged to intercept the *Spanish* Vessels, on their Return, with Treasure, from the *West-Indies*, obtained Permission to cruize in the adjacent Seas, and were even supplied by the Queen, with Vessels for that Purpose (x).

We shall hereafter find Occasion to mention in the Life of that illustrious Seaman Sir *Francis Drake*, the particular Services which He conferred on *England*, by retarding for a Twelvemonth, the intended Expedition of the *Spaniards*. Let us, now, enter on those Circumstances which are more immediately connected with the Victory gained over the *Armada*, prefixing to our Relation, the Lists of the contending Fleets, as collected by a naval Writer (y), whose Researches have a Claim to our Attention.

(x) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 169, 170.—
Sir Francis Drake revived. Quarto. London. 1653. p. 2.—
Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 239.—Hackluyt.—Purchas.
—Camden.—Lord Burleigh's Diary of this Reign, in
Murden's Collection of State Papers. P. 782, 783.

(y) Lediard's Naval History. Folio. V. 1. 238.—252.

Ror-

ROYAL LIBRARY, 14. B. XIII.

THE Names of the Ships, and Captains, serving under the Lord High Admiral, in the late
Action against the Spaniards, A. D. 1588. (2).

No. of Ships.	SHIPS	Burden Tons.	CAPTAINS.	No. of Mariners.
1	The Ark, Raleigh, (a)	800	The Lord Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral.	425
2	Elizabeth-Bonaventure,	600	The Earl of Cumberland.	250
3	Rain-bow,	500	The Lord Henry Seymour. (b)	250
4	Golden Lion,	500	The Lord Thomas Howard.	250
5	White Bear,	1000	The Lord Edmund Sheffield.	500
6	Van-Guard,	500	Sir William Winter. (c)	250
7	Revenge,	500	Sir Francis Drake, Vice-Admiral,	250
8	Elizabeth-Jonas,	500	Sir Robert Southwell.	500
9	Victory,	800	Sir John Hawkins, Rear-Admiral.	400
10	Antelope,	400	Sir Henry Palmer (d).	160
11	Triumph,	1100	Sir Martin Forbisher.	500
12	Dread-nought,	400	Sir George Belton (e).	200
13	Mary-Rose,	600	Edward Fenton (f).	250
14	Non-pareil,	500	Thomas Fenner (g).	250
15	Hope,	500	Robert Crofts.	250
16	Gally Bonavolia,		William Borroughs.	250

MEMOIRS OF

11	Triumph,	1100	Sir Martin Forbisher.	500
12	Dread-nought,	400	Sir George Beston (c).	200
13	Mary-Rose,	600	Edward Fenton (f).	250
14	Non-pareil,	500	Thomas Fenner (g).	250
15	Hope,	500	Robert Crofs.	250
16	Gally, Bonavolia,		William Borroughs.	250

17	Swift-fur,	400	Edward Fenner (h).	200
18	Swallow,	360	Richard Hawkins (i).	160
19	Forefight,	300	Christopher Baker (k).	160

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 233

(z) THE above List is taken from a Manuscript in the King's Library; But the Number of Mariners not being mentioned, I have supplied that Defect from several Manuscripts in the *Cottonian*, and other Libraries; From, These, likewise, I have corrected some visible Errors in the former Manuscript. I have not any where found the Number of Guns, which every Ship carried; than which nothing more were to be withheld; Then, an exact Calculation might be made, of the Proportion which the Force of the *English* Fleet bore to that of the *Spanish*. This, however, is evident, that although our several Squadrons, reckoned together, exceeded, in Number of Ships, those of the *Spaniards*; Yet, by comparing the Unmanned of the several Ships in both Fleets, and the Number of Men employed in Them, the Superiority of the Enemy's Fleet will appear to have been very considerable; More than double in Men, and very near double in Burden. As the other Manuscripts vary, the Differences shall be observed.

(a) THE Manuscripts in the King's Library, and some other Accounts, mention; the *Ark*, *Raleigh*, from whence some have inferred, that *Raleigh* commanded the *Ark*, under the Lord High Admiral *Howard*; But that this is a Mistake, the Reader will evidently see by the Sequel of this Relation; It should therefore be, as I find it in some Manuscripts, the *Ark Royal*.

(b) *Thomas Fenner*.

(c) The Lord Henry Seymour, in some Lists, and in Others, Sir William Wentworth.

(d) Captain Fenner.

(e) Captain Raymond, or Ratman,

(f) Sir William Winter.

(g) Sir George Beston.

(h) In some Lists, Captain William Fenner, in Others, Captain Bosbeck.

(i) Captain Fenner.

(k) In some Lists, Sir Henry Palmer, in Others, Captain Barker.

No. of
Ships.

SHIPS.

Burden.
Tons.

CAPTAINS.

No. of
Mariners.

MEMOIRS OF

20	The Aid,	250	William Fennar (l).	120
21	Bull,	200	Jeremy Turner (m).	100
22	Tyger,	200	John Bostock (n).	100
23	Tramontana,	150	Luke Ward.	70
24	Scout,	120	Henry Ashley (o).	70
25	Achates,	100	Henry Rigges.	60
26	Charles,	70	John Roberts.	40
27	Moon,	60	Alexander Clifford.	40
28	Advice,	50	John Harris.	40
29	Spy,	50	Ambrose Ward (p).	40
30	Martin,	50	Walter Gower (q).	35
31	Sun,	40	Richard Buckley.	30
32	Signet,	30	John Shrive,	20
33	Brigantine,		Thomas Scot.	35
34	George, Hoye,	120	Richard Hodges.	24
		11830		6279

SHIPS serving by Tonnage, with the LORD ADMIRAL.

35	White Lion,	140	Charles Howard.	50
36	Difdain,	80	Jonas Bradbery.	45

SHIPS serving by Tonnage, with the LORD ADMIRAL.
 White Lion, 140
 Didain, 80

35
3650
45

37	Lark,	50	Thomas Chichester.	30
38	Edward, of Malden,	180	William Pierce.	30
39	Marygold,	30	William Newton.	20
40	Black Dog,	20	John Davis.	10
41	Catherine,	20		10
42	Fancy,	50	John Paul.	20
43	Peppin,	20		8
44	Nightingale,	160	John Doate.	16
		750		239

SHIPS serving with Sir FRANCIS DRAKE.

45	Galleon Leicester,	400	George Fennar.	160
46	Merchant Royal,	400	Robert Flyker.	160
47	Edward Bonaventure,	300	James Lancaster.	120
48	Roe-buck,	300	Jacob Whitton.	120
49	Golden Noble,	250	Adam Seigar.	110
50	Griffin,	200	William Hawkins.	100

(l) In some Lists, Captain *George Fennar*, in Others, Captain *John Wentworth*.(m) Captain *Abley*.(n) Sir *William Wentworth*. (p) Captain *Bradbury*. (q) Captain *Glare*.(o) Captain *Hawkins*.

No. of Ships.	SHIPS.	Burden Tons.	CAPTAINS	No. of Mariners.
51	The Minion,	200	William Winter.	80
52	Bark, Talbot,	200	Henry White.	90
53	Thomas Drake,	200	Henry Spendelow.	80
54	Spark,	200	William Spark.	90
55	Hopewell,	200	John Merchaunt.	100
56	Galleon Dudley,	250	James Erizey.	100
57	Virgin, God save her,	200	John Greenfield.	80
58	Hope, of Plymouth,	200	John Rivers.	70
59	Bark, Bond,	150	William Poole.	70
60	Bark, Bonner,	150	Charles Cæsar.	70
61	Bark, Hawkins,	150	— Pridex.	70
62	Unity,	80	Humphrey Sidnam.	70
63	Elizabeth Drake,	60	Thomas Seely.	30
64	Bark, Buggins,	80	John Langford.	50
65	Frigate, Elizabeth Fonnes,	80	Roger Grant.	50
66	Bark, Sellinger,	160	John Sellinger.	80
67	Bark, Mannington,	160	Ambrose Mannington.	80
68	Golden Hind,	50	Thomas Flemming.	30
69	Make shift,	60	Peerce Leman.	40
70	Diamond, of Dartmouth,	60	Robert Holland	40
71	Speedwell,	60	Hugh Harding.	14

66	Bark, Sellinger,	160	John Sellinger.	80
67	Bark, Mannington,	160	Ambrose Mannington.	80
68	Golden Hind,	50	Thomas Flemming.	30
69	Make shift,	60	Pierce Leman.	40
70	Diamond, of Dartmouth,	60	Robert Holland	40
71	Speedwell,	60	Hugh Harding.	14

72	The Bear-Young,	140	John Young	70
73	Chance,	60	James Foues.	40
74	Delight,	50	William Cox.	30
75	Nightingale,	40	John Grifling.	30
76	Carvel,	30		24
32.		<u>5120</u>		<u>2348</u>

LONDON Ships, fitted out by the CITY.

77	Hercules,	300	George Barnes.	120
78	Toby,	250	Robert Barret.	100
79	May-Flower,	200	Edward Banks.	90
80	Minion,	200	John Dales.	90
81	Royal Defence,	160	John Chester.	80
82	Ascension,	280	John Bacon.	100
83	Gift of God,	180	Thomas Luntlowe.	80
84	Primrose,	200	Robert Bringboorn.	90
85	Margaret, and John,	200	John Fisher.	90
86	Golden Lion,	140	Robert Wilcox.	70
87	Diana,	80		40
88	Bark, Burre,	160	John Saracole.	70

No. of
Ships.

SHIPS.

Burden
Tons.

CAPTAINS.

No. of
Mariners.

MEMOIRS OF

89	The Teigur (r),	200	William Cesar.	90
90	Berabe (s),	160	William Farther.	70
91	Red Lion,	200	Jarvis Wild.	90
92	Centurion,	250	Samuel Foxcraft.	100
93	Passport,	80	Christopher Colthirt.	40
94	Moonshiac,	60	John Brough.	30
95	Thomas Bonaventure,	140	William Abridge.	70
96	Relief,	60	John King.	30
97	Saslan Ana Parnel,	200	Nicholas Gorge.	80
98	Violet,	220	Marlin Hakes.	60
99	Solomon,	170	Edmund Muigrave.	80
100	Anne Francis,	180	Christopher Lidger.	70
101	George-Bonaventure	200	Elexzar Hikeman.	80
102	Jane Bonaventure,	100	Thomas Hallwood.	50
103	Vineyard,	160	Benjamin Cook.	60
104	Samuel,	140	John Vaffell.	90
105	George Noble (s),	150	Henry Bellingier.	80
106	Anthony,	110	George Harper.	60
107	Toby,	140	Christopher Pigott.	70

(r) Or Sugar.

(s) In some Lists, the Brave.

(t) Or, Golden Noble.

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200

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 239

60
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2170

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20
50

(r) Or, *Sigee*. (s) In some Lists, the *Brace*. (t) Or, *Golden Nettle*.

108 Salamander,
109 Rose Lion,
110 Antelope,
111 Jewell,
112 Paunce,
113 Providence,
114 Dolphin,
120 Samford.
110 Barnaby Abon.
120 Dennison.
120 Rowell.
160 William Butler.
130 Richard Chester.
166 William Hares (u).
6130

COASTERS with the LORD ADMIRAL.

115 Bark, Web,
116 John Trelawney,
117 Hart, of Dartmouth,
118 Bark, Potts,
119 Little John,
120 Bartholomew, of Apsam, 130
121 Rose, of Apsam, 110
122 Gift, of Apsam, 25
123 Jacob, of Lame, 90
Thomas Mecke.
James Houghton.
Anthony Potts.
Lawrence Cleyton.
Nicholas Wright.
Thomas Sandy.

(u) Or, *Harte*.

No of
Mariners.

CAPTAINS.

Burden
Tons.

SHIPS.

No. of
Ships.

Richard Bedford.
John Smith.
Richard Miller.
John Young.
John Winoll.
Jonh Satchfield.
James Laughton.
Christopher Pitt.
William Megar.

The Revenge, of Lime,
William, of Bridgewater,
Crescent, of Dartmouth,
Galleon, of Weymouth,
Katherine, of Weymouth,
John, of Chichester,
Hearty Ann,
Minion, of Bristol,
Unicorn, of Bristol,
Handmaid, of Bristol,
Aid, of Bristol,

124
125
126
127
128
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131
132
133
134

993

1930

20.

COASTERS with the Lord HENRY SEYMOUR.

70
60
60
30
35

Robert Johnfon.
Thomas Tucker.
Leonard Haryel.
Richard Fearn.
John Dobson.

160
150
150
60
75

Daniel,
Galleon Hutchins,
Bark, Lamb,
Fancy,
Griffin,

135
136
137
138
139

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 241

25
35
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16
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30
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40
50
60
30
70
68
34
70
50
30
1073

Matthew Ratliff (x).
John Gatenbury.
Francis Johnson.
Richard Mitchel.
John Mulgrave.
Barnaby Lowe.
Thomas Grimbale.
John Cardinal.
John Conny.
William Coxon.
William Fordred.
John Lidgier.
William Cripp.
Nicholas Turner.
William Mulgrave.
Alexander Mulgrave.
Thomas Lambert.
Reynold Veyzey.

(y) Or, Colechester.

50
75
150
35
40
140
125
120
60
80
50
120
110
38
150
150
100
60
2248

Little Hare,
Handmaid,
Marygold,
Matthew,
Susan,
William, of Ipswich,
Katherine, of Ipswich,
Primrose, of Harwich,
Ann-Bonaventure,
William, of Rye,
Grace of God,
Elmathan, of Dover,
Reuben, of Sandwich,
Hazard, of Faversham,
Grace, of Yarmouth,
May-flower,
Will., of Brickellsea (y),
John Young,

(x) Or, *Raphelston*.

Vol. II.

R

23.

Sampson,

No. of
Mariners.

MEMOIRS OF

CAPTAINS.

Burden.
Tons.

SHIPS.

No. of
Ships.

the LORD ADMIRAL,
John Wingfield.
John Redbly.

VOLUNTEERS with the

Hugh Preston.

Greenfield Haulfe.
Ralph Hawes.
Walter Edney.
John Pentyre.
Gilbert Lea.
William Hubberd.

Samfon, of Foy,
Heath-Hen, of Weymouth,
Golden Rial, of Weymouth (2)
Bark Sutton, of Weymouth,
Carowfe
Samaritan, of Dartmouth,
William, of Plymouth,
Gallego, of Plymouth,
Bark Haulfe,
Unicorn, of Dartmouth,
Grace, of Apfham,
Thomas Bonaventure,
Rat, of Wight,
Margett,
Elizabeth, of Layftaff,
Raphael,
Fly-boat, Young.

Nicholas Webb.

Elizabeth-

859

1716

176	Elizabeth-Bonsaventur, of London.
177	Pelican.
178	Hope.
179	Unity.
180	Pearl.
181	Elizabeth, of London (c).
182	John, of London.
183	Barbary.
184	Marygold.
185	White Hind.
186	Gift of God.
187	Jonas of Alborough.
188	Solomon, of Alborough.
189	Richard, of Alborough.
190	Mary Refc.

Francis Burnell.

(c) Of Lee.

(2) Or, Golden Lion.

15. 190

Besides

R 2

Elizabeth-

Besides the above, I find Mention made, in several Manuscripts, of the seven Vessels following:

191	John, of Barnstable,			40
192	Greyhound of Alborough,			65
193	Jonas,			30
194	Fortune, of Alborough,			25
195	Hearts-Ease,			24
196	Elizabeth, of Low Aftoff,			40
197	A Galley, not named,			250
				474

Henry Harpham,

MEMOIRS OF

An Abstract of the several Squadrons, which composed the whole English Fleet.

No. of Ships.	SHIPS.	Burden. Tons.	CAPTAINS.	Burden. Tons.	No. of Mariners.
34	Her Majesty's Ships, under the Lord High Admiral Howard.			11850	6279

No. of Ships.	SHIPS.	Burden. Tons.	CAPTAINS.	Burden. Tons.	No. of Mariners.
34	HER Majesty's Ships, under the Lord High Admiral <i>Howard</i> .	11850			6279

In the List of this Squadron, the Burden of the *Bonavoli*, the *Brigantine* is not mentioned.

10 SERVING by Tonnage, with the Lord Admiral.
 32 SERVING with Sir Francis Drake,
 38 FITTED out by the City,
 20 COASTERS with the Lord High Admiral,
 23 COASTERS with the Lord Henry Seymour,
 18 VOLUNTEERS with the Lord High Admiral,
 15 VICTUALLERS,
 7 VESSELS, not mentioned in the List, in the King's Library.

In the Lists of the last two and twenty Vessels; the Tonnage is not mentioned.

197 Ships.

Tuns 29744 Men 15785

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 245

750	239
5120	2348
6130	2710
1930	993
2248	1073
1716	859
	810
	474

R 3

Another

Another imperfect, and damaged List was in the *Cottonian Library*. Although but slightly connected with any that I have made Use of, yet, as it mentions Land Officers, and Soldiers unnoticed in other Lists, it may be proper to insert it, without Alteration.

A LIST of the ENGLISH NAVY, in the COTTONIAN LIBRARY, *Julius, F. VI.*
107. Fol. 248. (b)

Of the Queen's.	SHIPS.		Soldiers.
	THE ARK.	MARINERS.	
	Lion.	390	
	True Love.	345	
	Dreadnought,	140	
	Lion's Whelp,	180	
		45	
Men of War of London.	Swan of London,	20	50
	Darling,	20	50
	Delight,	14	50
Vessellers of London.	Defire,	320	
	Elizabeth,	32	
	William Bond.		
	Tolkerins Bond.		
	Tolkerins Bond.		

William Bond.
Tolkerins Bond.
Tolkerins Bond.

Swan of London, 20
Darling, 20
Delight, 14

Desire, 320
Elizabeth, 32

Men of War
of London.

Vizuallers
of London.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 247

<i>Casiers.</i>	Expedition, of Lime,	50	Coniers Clifford's Company	50
	Elizabeth, of Hampton,	50	Sir John Wingfield's Company.	150
	Pleasure, of Bristol,	50	Horatio Vearé.	50
	Elizabeth Jonas, of Hull,	50	Horatio Vearé.	50
	Unicorn, of Bristol,	500	Davies.	100
	Cassey, of Ipswich	344	Lawrence.	100
	Prudence of Plymouth,	440	Merricks.	100
	Mermaid, of Dartmouth,	60	Pooley.	100
	Hoy of Sandwich,	20	Dance.	100
<i>Vizuallers</i>	Sticker, Hospital.	30	Gerrard Harvie.	50
<i>taken at</i>	Jacob, of Ancufen,	20	Richards	50
<i>Dover and</i>	Fallow Hind,	20	Wilton.	50
<i>Plymouth</i>	Viago, of Skydam,	20		
	Lester Ship of Flushing,	20		

(a) I have observed above, that this List is incomplete, and hath no great Connection with any other. I am apt to think it must be a List of some Part of the Fleet, at some particular Time of the Action. It cannot surely have been at the Beginning, before the Junction of the whole Fleet, because Sir *Walter Raleigh* is mentioned in it as commanding a Squadron: And We may observe, that

Soldiers. 248

CAPTAINS.

Mariners.

SHIPS.
John and Francis,
Fortune,
Black Lion,

20
27
40
30
50
1981
3300

1500
1100

MEMOIRS OF

Soldiers.

CAPTAINS.

Mariners.

SHIPS.
Of the Due Repulse
Rainbow,
Van-guard,
Charles,

205
75
34
38
28

150
50

Sir Charles Blunt
Lambert

Pooley
Sir Matthew Morgan
Medkirk

100
100
100

THE EARL OF ESSEX'S SQUADRON.

Men of War Lion,
of London. Gamaliel,
London Vic-Roe,
Minion,
Cherubim,

Sir Charles Blunt
Lambert
Pooley
Sir Matthew Morgan
Medkirk

205
75
34
38
28

Men of War Lion,
of London. Gamaliel,
London *Vic-Roe*,
tuallert. Minion,
Cherubim,

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 249

	Marigold	32	Goring,	50
	Green Dragon	26	Of the Lord Marshal's Company,	50
<i>Crafters</i>	Gift of God,	26	Masterfon,	100
	Jonathan,	22	Sir Thomas Fairfax,	100
	Phoenix,	28	Goring,	50
	Hound, or Post-horse,	20	Lambert,	100
	Bark Rowe,	50	The Lord Marshal's Company,	100
<i>Visualisers</i>	Swan,	300	Bagnel,	100
of London.	Ark Angel	400	Constable,	50
	Mermaid,	30	Uzcher.	100

that, He came in with the Volunteers, after the Commencement of the Action. I have therefore given this Lift exactly as I found it, and shall leave the Reader to make what Use of it He thinks most proper.

(b) The upper Numbers are as they stand in the Manuscript, and those which I have set below them are the real Sums of the several Numbers as they are here placed.

Soldiers. 250

CAPTAINS.

MEMOIRS OF

1700
1300

<i>Vic-Buallers</i> of London.	SHIPS.	<i>Mariners.</i>
	Bigger Ship of Flushing,	50
	Dragon,	30
	Garland,	30
	Amity,	30
	24	2721
	24	2439

THE LORD THOMAS —

<i>Of the</i> <i>Queen's.</i>	Mary-Honora,	290
	Non-pareil,	245
	Crane,	197
	Moon,	40
<i>Men of War</i> of London.	Alcedo	135
	Violet,	74
	Golden Dragon	76
	Solomon,	74
	Reuben,	74

Capt.

Men of War
of London.

Alcedo
Violet,
Golden Dragon
Solomon,
Reuben,

Capt.

Visitors
taken at
London and
Dover.

George,
Roger and Katherine,
Mary Margaret,
Joshua, of Horn,
Jonas

Jacob, of Rotterdam,

Brown Fish,

The Exchange, of Bristol,
Grace of God, of
Yarmouth,

Hercules, of Rye,
Endeavour, of Exeter,
Peter, of Ancufen,
Hunter, of Ancufen,
Amity,

23

23

1663

1670

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 251

100
100
50
100
100
100
60
50
50
100

1656

810

Coll,
Sir Thomas Gerard,
Salisbury,
Harcourt,
Williams,
{ Throgmorton,
{ Williams,
{ Collier,
{ Boulstreet,
Folliot,
Larret.

32

22

26

22

25

20

22

90

30

50

50

20

26

30

1663

1670

MEMOIRS OF

WALTER RALPH'S Squadron.

Soldiers.

50
50
150
100
50
100
150
100

CAPTAINS.

Cunaye.
Cunaye.
Earl of Suffex
{ Edward Conway.
{ Fulk Conway.
{ Terrent.
{ Fulk Conway.
Jackson.
Williams.
William Harvy.
Gifford.
William Harvy.

Mariners.

290
245
280
75
24
28
32
32
of London, 32

SHIPS.

Vishallers
of London.

Mary Ann, 32
Amelowe, 32
Jacob, 23
Experience, 41
Blue Pigeon, 22
Peter, of Ancufen, 22

100
100
50
150
100

Jackfon.
Williams.
William Harvy.
Gifford.
William Harvy.

32
23
41
22
22

Amelowe,
Jacob,
Experience,
Blue Pigeon,
Peter, of Ancufen,

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 253

150
75
150
100
100
50
100
1650
1875

Sir Richard Wingfield.
Sir George Carew.
Sir George Carew.
Maunfel.
Smith.
Hapton.
Flemming.

40
20
21
50
30
13
2401
1352

Great Katherine,
Prudence, of Baffab,
Popinjay, of Memblick,
Jacob,
Black Raven,
Daisy,
William and John,
Watt, a Pinnace,

Coasters.
Fishallers
of Dover,
and Ply-
mouth.

SUM of the *Engliff* Squadrons, 97. (96). The *Dutch* Squadron, 23, in all 120. Sum of the *Engliff* Mariners, 6772, (8761). Besides the *Dutch* Mariners. Sum of the pressed Soldiers, 6360. Volunteers, 1000. Together 7360, or, as my Manuscript says, 10360. But the above Sums added together make no more than 5085.

A COMPLETE LIST OF THE SPANISH FLEET, CALLED THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA. (c). 254

THE SQUADRON OF PORTUGUESE GALLEONS, &c. under the particular Command of the Generalissimo, the Duke of MEDINA SIDONIA.

No. of Ships.	SHIPS.	Burden Tons.	GUNS.	Number of Mariners, Soldiers.
1	The St. Martin, Capt. General of all the Fleet	1000	50	177 (d) 300
2	St. John, Admiral General.	1050	(e) 50	170 (f) 231
3	St. Mark.	792		117 292
4	St. Philip.	800	40	117 415
5	St. Lewis.	830	40	116 376
6	St. Matthew.	750	40	50 (g) 177
7	St. James.	520	30	100 300
8	Galleon, of Florence,	961	54	100 300 (h)
9	St. Christopher.	352	30	90 300
10	St. Bernard.	352	30	100 280 (i)
11	Zabra, Augusta.	166	13	55 (k) 55
12	Zabra, Julia.	166	14	50 60 (l)
		7739	389	1242 3086

MEMOIRS OF

8	Gaueon, or Florence,	961	54	100	300 (n)
9	St. Christopher.	352	30	90	300
10	St. Bernard.	352	30	100	280 (i)
11	Zabra, Augusta.	166	13	55 (k)	55
12	Zabra, Julia.	166	14	50	60 (l)
		7739	389	1242	3086

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 255

THE Fleet of *Biscay*, commanded by Don Juan Martinez de Recalde, Captain-General.

13	The St. Ann, (m) Admiral.	768	30	114	323
14	Grangrins, Admiral	1160	36	100	300
15	St. James.	660 (n)	30	102	250
16	Conception, of Zubelzu.	468	20	70	100
17	Conception, of Juan del Cavo.	418	24	70	164
18	Magdalena de Juan Francisco d'Ayala.	330	22	70	200
19	St. John.	350	21	80 (o)	130
20	Mary.	165 (p)	24	100	180
21	Manuel.	529	16	54 (q)	130

(c) THIS List, as the Former of the *English* Fleet, is collected from a great Number of Authors, and Manuscripts. I have adhered to the Majority of Those which I had Reason to think the most authentic: But as there, so here, shall mark the Differences in other Lists, in the Notes below.

(d) 170. (e) 1070. (f) 160. (g) 200 Mariners, and 277 Soldiers. (h) 400.
(i) 208. (j) 37. (k) 72. (l) 72. (m) *St. Angel*. (n) 666. (o) 100. (p) 163.
(q) 43.

N ^o . of Ships.	SHIPS.	Burden, Tons.	Guns.	Number of Mariners, Soldiers.
22	St. Mary de Monte Majore	707	30(r)	50 220
23	Mary, of Aguiare.	70	10	23 30
24	Isabella.	71	12	23 (t) 30
25	Michael de Sufa.	96	12	24 (t) 30
26	St. Stephen.	78	12	26 30
		5861	302	906 2117

THE Fleet of *Castille*, commanded by *Don Diego Flores de Valdez*, General.

27	THE St. Christopher, Galleon, General.	700.	40(u)	120 (v) 205
28	St. John Baptist, Galleon.	750	30	140 250
29	St. Peter, Galleon.	530	40	140 130
		(r) 16. (s) 32. (t) 26. (u) 30. (v) 102.		

27	THE St. Christopher, Galleon, General.	700.	40(u)	120 (v)	205
28	St. John Baptist, Galleon.	750	30	140	250
29	St. Peter, Galleon.	530	40	140	130

(r) 16. (s) 34. (t) 26. (u) 30. (x) 102.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 257

30	THE St. John, Galleon.	330	30 (w)	120	170
31	St. James, the Great, Galleon.	530	50	132	230
32	St. Philip and St. James, Galleon.	530 (*)	30	116	159 (y)
33	Ascension, Galleon.	530	30	114	220
34	Galleon of our Lady del Barrio	130	30	108	170
35	Galleon of St. Medel and Celedon.	530	30	110	170
36	St. Ann, Galleon.	250	24	80 (z)	100
37	Ship, Our Lord of Vigonia	750	30	130 (a)	190
38	Trinity.	780	30	122	200
39	St. Katherine.	862	30	160	200
40	St. John Baptist.	652	50	130	200
41	Pinnacle of our Lady della Rofaria.		24	25 (b)	30
42	St. Anthony, of Padua, Pinnacle.		16	46	300
		8054	474	1723	2024
(w) 40.	(x) 230.	(y) 151.	(z) 89.	(a) 100.	(b) 20.

Vol. II.

S

THE

THE Andalusian Squadron, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, General.

No. of Ships.	SHIP.	Burden Tons.	Guar.	Number of Mariners, Seamen.
43	THE General-Ship.	1550	50	118
44	St. Francis, Admiral,	915	30	60
45	St. John Baptist, Galleon,	810 (d)	40	40 (e)
46	St. Gargen,	569 (f)	20	60
47	Conception,	862	25	65
48	Duquesa, St. Ann,	900	30	80
49	Trinity,	650	20 (h)	80 (i)
50	St. Mary de Juncar,	730	30 (k)	80
51	St. Katherine,	730	30	80
52	St. Bartholomew,	976	30	80
53	Holy Ghost, Pinnace,		10	33
		8692	315	776
				2359

11.

THE Squadron of *Guyafosa*, commanded by Don Miguel de Oquendo.

54	St. Ann, General,	1200	50	60 (l)	300
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Ship

54 St. Ann, General, 1200 50 60 (l) 300

Ship

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 259

55	Ship, our Lady of the	945	30	64	230
56	Rofe, Admiral,	958	30	50 (m)	330
57	St. Saviour,	936	30	70	180
58	St. Stephen,	548	25	70	200
59	St. Martha,	525	15	50	160
60	St. Barba,	369	15	60	170
61	St. Bonaventura,	291	15 (n)	40	120
62	Mary,	680	20 (o)	40	150
63	Santa Cruce,	500	18	40	160
64	Uria Doncella, Hulk,	60	12	16	30
65	Annunciation, Pinnace,	60	12	16	30
66	St. Barnaby,	60	12	16	30
67	Pinnace, of our Lady of	60	12	16	30
	Guadalupe,	60	12	16	30
	Magdalene,	7192	296	608	2120

14.

8 2

(c) 350. (d) 10. (e) 20. (f) 509. (g) 300. (h) 30.
(i) 20. (k) 24. (l) 90. (m) 80. (n) 20. (o) 15.

THE

THE Eastern Fleet of Ships, called *Levantifcas*, commanded by Don
Martinez de Vertendona.

No. of Ships.	SHIPS.	Burden Tons.	Guns.	Number of Mariners, Soldiers.
68	THE Ragazone, General	1294	35	90 350
69	Lama, Admiral,	728	20	80 210
70	Kata, St. Mary, crowned,	820	40	90 350
71	St. John, of Cecilia,	880	40	70 290 (p)
72	Trinity Valencera,	1000 (q)	41	90 240
73	Annunciation,	730	30	90 200
74	St. Nicholas, Prodaveli,	834	30	84 280
75	Juliana,	718 (r)	30	80 330
76	St. Mary, of Pison,	666	20	80 250
77	Trinity Efcala,	900	25	90 302
		8632	319	844 2792

10.

THE Fleet of Ships called *Urcas*, or *Hulks*, commanded by
Don Juan Lopez de Medina.

78	Great Griffin, General,	650	40	60 240
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THE Fleet of Ships called *Ureat*, or *Hulks*, commanded by
Don Juan Lopez de Medina.

78 Great Griffin, General, 650 40 60 240

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 261				
79 St. Saviour, Admiral,	650	50	60	230
80 Sea Dog,	200	10	30	80
81 White Falcon,	500	18	40	160 (r)
82 Black Castle,	750	25	50	250
83 Bark, of Hamburg,	600	25	50	250
84 Houle of Peace,	600	25	50	250
85 St. Peter, the Greater,	600	25	50	250
86 Samson,	600	25	50	250
87 St. Peter, the Less,	600	25	50	250
88 Bark, of Dantzick,	450	26 (r)	50	210
89 White Falcon, Mediana,	300	18	30	80
90 St. Andrew,	400	15	40	160
91 Little Houle of Peace,	350	14	40	160 (u)
92 Flying Raven,	400	18	40	210
93 White Dove,	250	12	50	60
94 Adventure,	600	19	40	60
95 Santa Barba	600	19	40	60
96 Cat	400	9	30	50
97 St. Gabriel,	280	9	25	80 (v)
98 Esayas,	280	9	25	80 (x)

(r) 270. (q) 1100. (r) 800. (s) 170. (u) 250.
(v) 50. (x) 50.

Number of
Mariners. Soldiers.

40 60
30 80
950 4170

Burden.
Tons.

600 19
200 30
10860 466

SHIPS.

St. James.
Peter Martin.

No of
Ships.

99
100

23.

PATCHES and *Zabras*, commanded by *Don Antonio de Mendoza*.

101	Our Lady del Pilar de Saragossa.	300	12	50	120
102	English Charity.	180	12	36 (y)	80
103	St. Andrew, of Scotland.	150 (x)	12	30	51
104	Crucifix.	150	8 (a)	30	50
105	Our Lady of the Port.	150	8 (b)	30	50
106	Conception of Caraffa.	70	8	30	50
107	Our Lady of Begova.	70	8	30	60
108	Conception de Capitulo.	60	8	30	60
109	St. Hieronymus.	60	8	30	60
110	Our Lady of Grace.	60	8	30	60
111	Conception of Francis Lafero.	60	8	30	60
112	Our Lady of Guadalupe.	60	8	30	60

THE

113	St. Francis.	8	60	30	60
114	Holy Ghost.	8	60	30	60
115	Our Lady of Frenelda.	8	60	30	60
116	Zebra of the Trinity.	8	60	30	60
117	Zabra of our Lady del Cafro.	8	60	30	60
118	St. Andrew.	8	60	30	60
119	Conception.	8	60	30	60
120	Concept. of Sommariba.	8	60	30	60
121	Santa Clara.	8	60	30	60
122	St. Katherine.	8	60	30	60
123	St. John de Caraffa.	8	60	30	60
124	Assumption.	8	60	30	60
24.		204	2695	745	1103

THE four Galleasses (d) of Naples, commanded by Don Hugo de Montada.

No. of Ships.	SHIPS.	Burden. Tons.	Guns.	Number of Mariners, Soldiers.
125	St. Lawrence, General.		50	130
126	Patrona.		50	112
127	Girona.		50	130
128	Neopolitana.		50	115
				124
				477
			200	774
				1200

THESE four Galleasses had Slaves

(d) THESE *Galleasses* being a Sort of Vessels now grown out of Use, it may not be amiss to inform the Reader, that they were a middle Kind between *Galies*, and *Galleons*, partaking of the Form, and Advantages of both. Their Prows, and Sterns, like those of *Galies*, were provided with large Cannon, and their Sides winged with three Banks of Oars; But between the Banks, and likewise between the single Oars, there were Port-holes furnished with Cannon, after the Manner of the *Galleons*. This Sort of Vessels was first used by the *Venetians*, in the Battle of *Lepanto*, and contributed not a little to the Ruin of the *Turkish* Fleet.

(4) ... the Reader, that they were a middle Kind between Gallies, and Galleons, partaking of the Form, and Advantages of both. Their Prows, and Sterns, like those of Gallies, were provided with large Cannon, and their Sides winged with three Banks of Oars; But between the Banks, and likewise between the single Oars, there were Port-holes furnished with Cannon, after the Manner of the Gallies. This Sort of Vessels was first used by the Venetians, in the Battle of Lepanto, and contributed not a little to the Ruin of the Turkish Fleet.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 265

THE four Gallies of Portugal, commanded by Don Diego de Medrana.

129	Capitana.	50	106	110
130	Princeps.	50	106	110
131	Diana.	50	106	110
132	Vazana.	50	106	110
		200	424	440
	In these four Gallies were Slaves		888 (c)	

AN Abstract of the several Squadrons, which composed the whole Spanish Fleet.

N ^o . of Ships.	SQUADRONS and COMMANDERS.	Burden Tons.	Guns.	Number of Mariners.	Soldiers.
12	The Squadron of Portuguese Galleons, under the particular Command of the Generalissimo	7739	389	1242	5886
					(c) 880.

No. of Ships.	SQUADRONS and COMMANDERS.	Burden Tons.	Guns.	Number of Mariners.	Soldiers.
14	THE Fleet of <i>Biscay</i> , commanded by <i>Don Juan Martinez de Recalde</i> , Cap- tain General.	5861	302	906	2127
16	THE Fleet of <i>Castile</i> , commanded by <i>Don Diego de Valdez</i> , General. THE Burden of two Pinnaces of this Fleet is not mentioned.	8054	474	1793	2924
11	THE <i>Andalusian</i> Squadron, commanded by <i>Don Pedro de Valdez</i> , General. THE Burden of one Pinace of this Fleet is not mentioned.	8692	315	776	2359
14	THE Squadron of <i>Guyusiscoa</i> , command- ed by <i>Don Miguel de Oquendo</i> .	7192	296	608	2120
10	THE Eastern Fleet of Ships, called <i>Levantisca</i> , commanded by <i>Don Martin</i> <i>Vertendona</i> .	8632	319	844	2792
23	THE Fleet of Ships, called <i>Urcar</i> , or Hulk, commanded by <i>Don Juan Lopez</i> de <i>Medina</i> .	10860	466	950	4170

- ed by *Don Miguel de Oquendo*.
 10 THE Eastern Fleet of Ships, called
Levantisas, commanded by *Don Martin*
Vertendona.
 23 THE Fleet of Ships, called *Urcas*, or
Hulk, commanded by *Don Juan Lopez*
de Medina.

7192 296 608 2120
 8632 319 844 2792
 10860 466 950 4170

- 24 PATANCHES and *Zabra's*, commanded
 by *Don Antonio de Mendoza*.
 4 THE Galleasses of *Niplet*, commanded
 by *Don Hugo de Moncada*.
 4 THE Gallies of *Portugal*, commanded by
Don Diego de Medrana.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 267

2090 204 746 1103

200 477 744

200 424 440

THE Burden of the four Galleasses,
 and the four Gallies is not men-
 tioned: Exclusive of the Comple-
 ment of Mariners, and Soldiers, two
 thousand, and eighty-eight Galley-
 Slaves were on Board the Fleet.

132 Ships.

Tuns 59120 3165 8766 21855

From hence, it appears that the *Armada* consisted of one hundred, and thirty-two Ships and twenty Caravels. The whole Burthen of the Ships was fifty-nine thousand, one hundred, and twenty Tons, exclusive of the Caravals, three Pinnaces, four Galleasses, and four Gallies. The Pieces of Cannon were, in Number, three Thousand, one Hundred, and Sixty-five. The Hands on Board were eight thousand, seven hundred, and sixty six Mariners; twenty-one thousand, eight hundred, and fifty-five Soldiers; and two thousand, and eighty-eight Galley-Slaves. The total Number of Men amounted to thirty-two Thousand, seven Hundred, and Nine.

It may not be improper to subjoin another Abstract of the Ships and Squadrons, collected from a *Spanish* Manuscript, which a late naval Historian (a) received from *Holland*.

(a) Lediard's *Naval History*. Folio. v. 1. p. 254.

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another Abstract
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v. 1. p. 252.

T H E

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 269

	Ships.	Sabres.
THE Squadron of Gallions, of Portugal.	10	2
THE Biscayan Squadron, commanded by Don Juan Martinez de Reclade.	10	4
THE Andalusian Squadron, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez.	10	1
THE Guypuscoan Squadron, commanded by Don Mighel de Oquendo.	10	4
THE Squadron of Italian Ships, commanded by Don Martin de Verrendonna.	10	19
DON Antonio de Mendoza's Squadron.	4	
DON Juan de Medina's Squadron of Urcas, or Hulks.	22	
THE Squadron of Don Diego de Flores de Valdez, consisting of Ships from St. Lucar, and the Indies.	14	4
THE Squadron of Pataches, commanded by Don Alonzo Flores.	13	
	Ships 90	47
	Sabres and Pataches 47	
GALLIASSIS, commanded by Don Hugo de Moncada.	4	
GALLEONS, commanded by Con Diego de Medrana.	4	
	145	

In the Mention of the thirteen *Pataches* (or armed Tenders) under the Command of *Don Alonzo Flores*, We find the only Difference between this last List, and that which precedes it. It hath been imagined (*b*) that these *Pataches* are what some Authors have called the Caravels, of which twenty were equipped for the Service of the Fleet. Taking this Supposition for granted, the Difference between the Lists is not material.

Exclusive of the Ordnance belonging to each particular Ship, the *Armada* was laden with a large Quantity of military Stores, consisting of Cannons, Double Cannons, Culverins, and Field-Pieces; together with seven thousand Muskets, and Calivers, ten thousand Halberts, and Partizans, Fifty-six thousand Quintals of Gunpowder, and twelve thousand Quintals of Match. Confident of Success, The *Spaniards* had provided, and, put on Board their Ships, Horses, Mules, Carts, Wheels, Waggones, Spades, Mattocks, Baskets, and whatsoever was judged necessary for the Land-Service: Neither were those Instruments omitted, which were calculated for the sanguinary Purposes of a religious Persecution. Chains, Whips, butchering Knives, and Machines of Torture composed a Part of the Lading in every Ship. As the fit Superintendants either of the Conversion, or Extirpation of the Heretics, Cardinal *Allen*, a Native of *England*, embarked in the *Armada*, with an hundred, and eighty Monks, and Jesuits: The Volunteers, on this Occasion, were of the first Families in *Spain*, and together with their Servants, all of whom bore Arms, formed a Body of near five hundred Men. Exclusive of These, were two hundred, and thirty-eight Gentlemen, maintained by the King, and having in their Retinue one hun-

(*b*) Lediard's Naval History. Folio. v. l. p. 251.

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or. v. 1. p. 254.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 271

hundred, and sixty-three Domesticks. The Company of Artillery amounted to one hundred and seventy-seven; and, with this Establishment, were two Engineers, one Physician, one Surgeon, and thirty Servants. On Board of the Hospital-Ships were eighty-five Surgeons, and Physicians. The Others in the Fleet were twenty-three Gentlemen appointed to wait on the Duke of *Medina Sidenia*, fifty of his inferior Domesticks, seventeen Superintendants General of the Army, and one hundred Servants, either belonging to these last, or to the Officers of Justice (c).

Notwithstanding that it is our Intention to relate even the minutest Events, which may appear connected with this important period of naval History, We shall not trespass on the Patience of the Reader, by a tedious Detail of the various Articles provided for the Victualling of the *Armada*. He will form his Ideas of the vast Quantities of the Stores, when he is told that, amidst an equal Proportion of Necessaries, the *Spaniards* serving on this Expedition were supplied with ninety-six thousand Quintals of Biscuit; one hundred, and forty-seven thousand Pipes of Wine; six thousand, and five hundred, Quintals of Bacon; and three thousand Quintals of Cheese. The daily Expences of this Fleet amounted to thirty-two thousand Ducats (d).

The Command of the *Armada* had been given to the Marquis of *Santa Croce*, an Officer of distinguished Reputation, and One whose Prudence, and Intrepidity were particularly conspicuous at the Battle of *Lepanto*. In the Beginning of *May*, when the Ships were in Readiness for sailing, He was attacked by a violent Fever, which, soon

(c) *Strype's Annals*, V. 3. p. 519, 520.—*Speed* p. 858.
Stowe, p. 745.

(d) *Harris's Col.*

soon afterwards proved mortal. Almost at the same Instant, the Duke of *Paliano*, who was the second in Command, fell sick, and died. As Admiral, in the Place of *Santa Croce*, the King appointed *Don Alphonso de Gusman*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, a Nobleman of an illustrious House, but unacquainted with the Arts of War, and, most of all, with the Operations of a Navy. Even on this Occasion, it was necessary to sacrifice the Interest of the Sea-Service, to the Pride, and Jealousy of the *Spanish* Nobles, who could not patiently have yielded an Obedience to the most accomplished Officer in the Universe, if his Birth had been much inferior to their own. The Vice-Admiral was *Don Martinez de Recalde*, a Veteran of great Experience, and Bravery, on whose Judgment the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* implicitly relied (e).

Although neither the Land, nor Sea Forces, assembled by the Duke of *Parma*, had an Opportunity of coming to Action, it may not be improper to mention the warlike Preparations of that Prince, in the Support of *Philip*. Obedient to the Command of this Monarch, He had assembled Numbers of Ship-wrights from *Flanders*, *Lower Germany*, and the Coasts of the *Baltic*. At *Dunkirk*, *Newport*, and particularly at *Antwerp*, He constructed several Boats, and flat-bottomed Vessels for the Purpose of escorting the Infantry, and Cavalry. His Army consisted of one hundred, and three Companies of Foot, and four thousand Horse. All These, together with two thousand *Spanish* Volunteers, (most of whom were Persons of Family, and the Forces brought by *Don Amadeus* of *Savoy*; *Don John*, of *Medicis*, *Vespasian*

(e) Camden. V. 2. p. 571.—Speed. p. 858. M. S. in Bibl. Regia. 14. B. XIII. M. S. S. Var. in Bibl. Cotton. Spec. Julius. F. X. 17.

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 273

tián Gonzaga, Duke of Sabionetta, the Duke of Pastrana, and the two English Fugitives, Stanley, and the Earl of Westmoreland, composed an Army of thirty thousand Men. The Duke of Guise marched, also, at the Head of twelve thousand Soldiers, to the Coast of Normandy, intending to wait there until the Spanish Armada should appear in Sight, and receive Them on Board, in Order that They might afterwards make a Descent on the Western Parts of England (f).

Charles, Lord Howard, of Effingham, and High Admiral of England, a Nobleman of approved Zeal, great Intrepidity, and extensive naval Abilities, assumed the Command of the Fleet, a List of which hath been already presented to the Reader. Under Him were the Vice-Admirals Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, at that Period, the most celebrated, and accomplished Sea Officers in Europe. The grand Squadron was stationed at Plymouth. A smaller Division of the Fleet, consisting of forty Ships, partly Flemish, and partly English, lay off Dunkirk, the First, under the Command of Count Justin of Navarre, Admiral of Zealand; the last under that of the Lord Seymour, the second Son of the Protector Somerset, who was directed to intercept the Duke of Parma, and prevent his Junction with the Armada (g).

At this Era, the military Force of England, although more numerous than the veteran Armies of the Spaniards,
Vol. II. T was

(f) Bentivoglio, Par. 2. Lib. 4.—Strype, V. 3. p. 512.—Ferrerías Historia de España. P. 15. Sec. 16.—M. Fariay Soufa, Lib. 5. Cap. 7.—Dupleix, Tom. 4. p. 173.

(g) Camden, V. 2. p. 566.—Rymer's Fœdera. Tom. 16. p. 18.—Birch's Memoirs of Elizabeth. V. 1. p. 55.—Mezeray. V. 5. p. 320.—P. Daniel. V. 9. p. 297. Le Clerc, Histoire des Provinces unies. Tom. 1. p. 140.

was exceeded by Them in strict Discipline, and tried Experience. Aware of this Superiority, *Arthur*, Lord Grey, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and Sir *John Norris*, the most experienced Generals in the Service of *Elizabeth*, were of Opinion that, in Case the Enemy should make a Descent, it would be prudent not to hazard a close Engagement, but to adopt the Plan so successfully pursued by *Francis* the First, against the Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, in *Provence*, and continue retreating, and laying the adjacent Country waste, that the *Spaniards* (whose Return to their Ships was intended to be cut off, by the *English* Fleet,) might be reduced to those Extremities which would naturally arise from the Want of all Subsistence, but that which was brought with Them (*h*). For the Defence of the Metropolis, the Earl of *Leicester* was encamped at *Tilbury*, with an Army, consisting of two thousand Horse, and twenty-two thousand Foot. The Lord *Hunsdon*, at the Head of the same Number of Cavalry, and thirty-four thousand Infantry, was appointed to guard the Person of *Elizabeth*, and to be in Readiness to march whithersoever the Enemy should approach. Exclusive of these warlike Preparations, the Militia of each County were embodied, and compleatly armed under Officers directed to lead them towards the Coast, on the first Notice of an Invasion. The chief Sea-Ports were fortified, particularly *Milford-Haven*, *Falmouth*, *Plymouth*, *Portland*, the Isle of *Wight*, *Portsmouth*, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, and *Hull* (*i*).

At this dangerous Crisis, the Prudence, Activity, and Resolution of *Elizabeth* not only inspired the loyal Part
of

(*h*) Camden, p. 543. 548.

(*i*) Stowe, p. 744. 750.—Camden, p. 543. 548.—
Strype, V. 3. p. 517.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 273

of the Nation, with the firmest Confidence in the Rectitude of her Measures, and the most ardent Zeal in their Support, but won over to her Interests the least bigotted of the Catholics. Notwithstanding that every Artifice was employed to exasperate the Protestants against the Adherents to the Church of *Rome*, by printed Accounts of the bloody Executions during the Reign of *Mary*, the Massacre in the *Netherlands*, and the *Indies*, the Cruelties of the Inquisition; and the Pictures of the different Instruments of Torture, reported to have been prepared for the *English* Heretics, by the *Spaniards*: Notwithstanding that *Sixtus Quintus*, the reigning Pope, had issued a fresh Sentence of Excommunication against *Elizabeth*, had declared her to be driven from the Throne, had absolved her Subjects from their Allegiance, and invited Them, by plenary Indulgences, to a general Insurrection, yet the Catholic Natives of *England* were, with few Exceptions, so gratefully sensible of the personal Protection which, at this Juncture, They had received from their Sovereign, that They espoused her Cause, and co-operated with the most zealous of the Protestants for the Security of the State. Amongst the Papists, Several of distinguished Families, had entered as Volunteers on Board the Fleet, and in the Army. Others had fitted out Vessels at their own Expence, and intrusted the Command of them to Protestants of approved Loyalty, and Valour. Even Many who were less active, encouraged their Tenants, Dependants, Neighbours, Friends, and Acquaintances to rise superior to the narrow Prejudices of Party, and unite with every Member of the Community, to resist a cruel, and ambitious Adversary, whose Success might, in the End, prove fatal to the Whole (k).

(k) Stowe, p. 747.

As fortunate in the Attachments of her Allies, as in her domestic Concerns, *Elizabeth* beheld with equal Calmness, and Resolution, the Approach of that important Period, at which her Life, and Crown, together with the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the Nation might rest, if the *Spaniards* should effect their Landing, on the issue of a single Battle. Her Confidence was much augmented when She perceived that those Powers from whom She had the least Reason to expect the Cultivation of her Friendship, were determined either to remain neuter, or preserve themselves in Readiness to engage, whensoever it might be judged necessary, in her Defence. The King of *Scotland*, although his Mother had lately perished in *England*, by the Hands of the Executioner, was too prudent to sacrifice his own Interest even to the most favourable Opportunities of Revenge; and easily seduced by Promises, (which never were fulfilled,) of Honours, Territories, and Revenues (*l*), assured Sir *Robert Sydney*, the Ambassador from *Elizabeth*, that He should prepare Himself, to march, when called upon, with his whole Force, to Her Assistance (*m*); and observed that the only Favour which He expected from the *Spaniards*, was that promised by *Polyphemus* to *Ulysses*, of being last devoured. The *Hanse* Towns, although not on Terms of Amity with the Queen, were persuaded, from a Regard to the Safety of the Protestant Religion, to delay the Equipment of Vessels contracted for by *Philip*, and then lying within their Ports, until it was too late to employ

(*l*) An English Dukedom, Lands suited to the Dignity, an Annuity of five thousand Pounds, together with a Guard for the Security of his Person.—Manuscript in the Possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.

(*m*) Rymer's *Fœdera*. V. 16. p. 18.—Birch's *Memoirs of Elizabeth*. V. 1. p. 55.

employ Them in the Expedition against the *Engliff*. Induced by the same Motives, the King of *Denmark*, on the first Application from *Elizabeth*, issued his Orders for the Seizure of a Squadron of Ships, at that Period, riding in his Harbours, and hired by the *Spaniards*. Even the *French* refused to lend their Assistance to *Philip*, whilst all the Protestant States of *Europe*, of Course, withheld their Succours from the Catholics, and, concerned that the insurmountable Distance of their Situation, prevented Them from engaging under the Banners of *Elizabeth*, awaited in passive Anxiety, for the Decision of a Contest, the certain Result of which was, either the total Extirpation of their Religion, or its Establishment on a firmer Basis (n).

Still more to rouse the martial Disposition of the People, the heroic Queen presented Herself on Horseback before the Camp at *Tilbury*, and riding through the Lines, addressed the Soldiers in such a Strain of Cheerfulness and Resolution, that Each grew more animated by the Exhortations of his Sovereign, and in the Transports of Admiration, and Attachment, inquired of their Companions whether it were possible that the Subjects of so magnanimous a Princess could desert the glorious Cause in the Support of which She was prepared to shed her Blood; could ever cease, but with their Lives, to imitate her Courage; could waver in their Determinations to conquer, or to perish in her Defence (o)? The Reader might, perhaps, deem it an Injustice merely to relate the Purport of her Speech:

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(n) Strype. V. 3. p. 524.—Mezeray. Tom. 5. p. 320.—P. Daniel. V. 2. p. 297.—Le Clerc. Histoire des Provinces unies. Tom. 1. p. 140.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 471.

(o) Cambden. p. 545.

We, therefore, think it necessary to transcribe it from an authentic Copy (p).

“ My loving People, We have been persuaded by
 “ Some, that are careful of our Safety, to take Heed
 “ how We commit Ourselves to armed Multitudes, for
 “ Fear of Treachery; but I assure You I do not desire
 “ to live to distrust my faithful, and loving People. Let
 “ Tyrants fear: I have always so behaved myself that,
 “ under God, I have placed my chiefest Strength, and
 “ Safeguard in the loyal Hearts, and good Will of
 “ my Subjects. And therefore I am come amongst
 “ You at this Time, not as for my Recreation, or
 “ Sport, but being resolved in the Midst, and Heat of
 “ the Battle, to live, or die amongst you all; to lay
 “ down for my God, and for my Kingdom, and for
 “ my People, my Honour, and my Blood even in the
 “ Dust. I know that I have but the Body of a weak,
 “ and feeble Woman; but I have the Heart of a
 “ King, and of a King of *England* too; and think
 “ foul Scorn that *Parma*, or *Spain*, or any Prince of
 “ *Europe* should dare to invade the Borders of my
 “ Realms. To which, rather than any Dishonour
 “ shall grow by me, I myself will take up Arms; I
 “ myself will be your General, Judge, and Rewarder
 “ of every one of your Virtues in the Field. I know
 “ already, by your Forwardness, that you have deser-
 “ ved Rewards, and Crowns; and We do assure you,
 “ on the Word of a Prince, They shall be duly paid
 “ you. In the mean Time, my Lieutenant General
 “ shall be in my Stead, than whom never Prince
 “ commanded more noble, and worthy Subject; not
 “ doubting, by your Obedience to my General, by
 “ your Concord in the Camp, and your Valour in the
 “ Field,

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 279

" Field, We shall shortly have a famous Victory over
" those Enemies of my God, of my Kingdom, and
" my People."

On the twenty-ninth of *May*, in the Year one thousand, five hundred, and eighty-eight, the *Spanish Fleet* sailed, with every Mark of naval Magnificence, from the River *Tagus*, and proceeded towards the *North*. The Instructions delivered by *Philip* to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* were that He should repair to *Calais*, and, near the Harbour of that Fortrefs, wait for the Arrival of the Squadron, under the Command of the Duke of *Parma*. These Officers were ordered, in the Moment of their Meeting, to open a Letter addressed to Both, and pursue such farther Directions as it contained. The Duke of *Medina Sidonia* had been particularly cautioned to sail along the Coast of *Brittanny*, and *Normandy*, to avoid being discovered by the *English*, against whom it was recommended that He should act upon the Defensive; a clear Proof that although the *Armada* had been denominated *Invincible*, the ambitious Tyrant who equipped it, felt a secret Apprehension that its Title might be forfeited by a close Engagement with the Enemy.

When the *Spaniards* had approached within a League of *Cape Finisterra*, a violent Storm arose, dispersed the Fleet, sunk some of the smaller Vessels, and obliged Others to take Shelter in the neighbouring Harbours. Three of the Gallies, under the skilful Management of *David Gwinn*, an *English Slave*, and some *Moorish* Rowers, were brought safely to an Anchor, near the Coast of *France*. Fourteen were descried between *Ushant*, and *Scilly*; but These, taking the Advantage of a *Northerly* Wind which sprang up, at the same Time, out-sailed the *English* Ships, that were giving Chace, and arrived with the Rest of the *Spanish Fleet*, in a

disabled Condition, at the *Groyne*. A Report that the *Armada* was destroyed prevailed soon afterwards in *Europe*; and, when it reached *Elizabeth*, the Parsimony of whose Disposition was evident from the Eagerness with which She seized on all Occasions to avoid Expence, Sir Francis *Walsingham*, the Secretary of State, received Orders to signify to the Lord High Admiral that it was the Pleasure of the Queen that four of the largest Men of War should be laid up, and their Crews discharged; but *Effingham*, who entertained Suspicions of the Truth of the Accounts concerning the Fate of the *Spanish* Fleet, took the Liberty of disobeying the Commands given by *Elizabeth*, and in the true Spirit of Patriotism, desired that He might be permitted to maintain the Ships at his own Charges, lest the Nation should be exposed to fresh Dangers (q). Having sent his Dispatches to the Queen, He summoned a Council of War, in which it was determined to take the Benefit of a North Wind, and, sailing toward the *Spanish* Coast, either compleat the Destruction of the already disabled *Armada*, within the Harbour, or observe its Force, and Motions, if refitted, and standing out to Sea. On the tenth of *July*, when the *English* Fleet had proceeded to within the Distance of forty Leagues from *Spain*, They were informed that the Enemy had not suffered so considerable a Loss as was reported, and therefore, perceiving the Wind changed to the South, and apprehensive lest the *Armada* might pass by unseen towards the Coast of *England*, which the Lord High Admiral was instructed to guard, They returned with all possible Expedition to *Plymouth*, and came to Anchor, in that Harbour, on the twelfth of *July*.

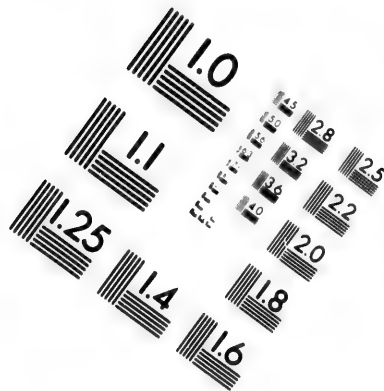
The prudent Conduct of *Effingham* was, at this Juncture, particularly seasonable, as on the Day of his Arrival

(q) Camden, p. 545.

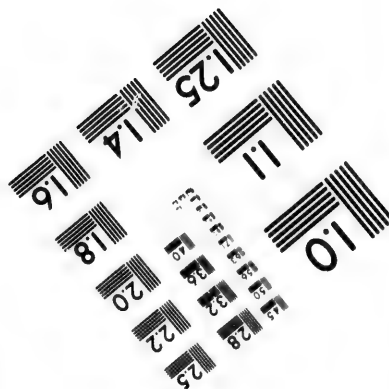
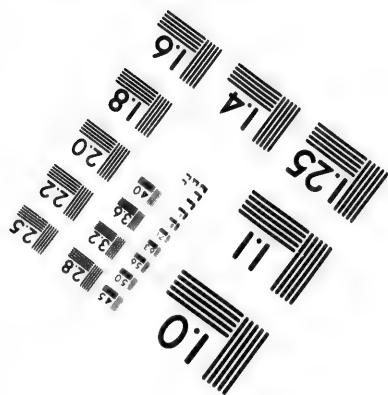
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rival at *Plymouth*, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, availing Himself of the same Wind, stood out, with all his Fleet to Sea; and, soon afterwards, dispatched a Yatch, under the Command of *Roderigo de Telie*, to the Duke of *Parma*, acquainting Him that the *Armada* had proceeded several Leagues, on its Course, and desiring that He should be in Readiness, with his Ships, and Forces, which should be convoyed to *England*, immediately on their Arrival in the Streights of *Dover*.

It must be observed that whilst the *Spanish* Fleet was lying at the *Groyne*, a Fisherman, whose Smack had been taken by one of their Cruizers, either purposely, or through Ignorance, informed Them that *Essex* had lately been at Sea, and, concluding from the Accounts given of the Tempest, and its fatal Consequences to the *Armada*, that the Enterprize against *England* must be deferred until the next Year, had returned to *Plymouth*, laid up his Ships, and discharged Multitudes of the Seamen. The Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, depending too confidently on this false Intelligence, assembled the Council, and recommended the Expediency of deviating from the Order of their Sovereign, and (as the Project appeared likely to succeed,) of sailing instantly to *Plymouth*, there to attack, and burn the *English* Ships. Although Several of the Commanders were averse from this Proceeding, yet, such was the Influence of *Don Diego Flores de Valdez*, the Admiral of the *Andalusian* Squadron, that a Majority submitted to an Opinion which, under the Sanction of so experienced an Officer, was become respectable, and the whole *Armada* sailed towards the Coast of *England*. From this Incident, *Elizabeth*, her Navy, and her Subjects had reason to date their Safety. At Intervals, becalmed, concealed in Fogs, and dispersed by violent, and contrary Winds, the Enemy, after a dan-

dangerous Passage, over the Bay of *Biscay*, arrived on the nineteenth of July, within the *British* Channel. At Sun-set, They fell in with the *Lizard*, on the *Southermost* Part of *Cornwall*, and, as They supposed it to be the *Ram-Head*, near *Plymouth*, tacked off again to Sea, intending to return on the following Day, and engage the *English* Fleet. At this Juncture, the *Armada* was descried by *Thomas Fleming*, a *Scottish* Pirate, who immediately bore away for *Plymouth*, and informed the Lord High Admiral that the *Spaniards*, with the Wind at *South-West*, were approaching to give Him Battle (*r*). The Signal was now made for sailing, and although the Wind blew hard into the *Sound*, the *English* Ships, with much Difficulty, got out to Sea (*s*).

On the twentieth of July, *Effingham*, who in Company with fifty-four Men of War, had proceeded towards the *Edystone*, discovered the *Armada*, as far as *Foy*, to the *Westward*, advancing in the Form of a Crescent, slowly, but in full Sail, and extending, between the Wings, to the Length of seven Miles. Let us here remark, with a celebrated Historian (*t*) that contemporary Writers have raised their Style by lofty Descriptions of a naval Armament, which appearing with such unequalled Magnificence on the Ocean, excited in the Minds of all Spectators, the greatest Terror, Admiration, and Surprise. To paint the towering Masts, the swelling Sails, and stately Prows of the Galleons of *Spain*, the Colours of the Poet have been assum-

(*r*) Stowe, p. 747.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts. p. 172.—Speed. p. 860.

(*s*) Camden. V. 2. p. 571.—Phoenix Britannicus. Quarto. 1731. p. 346.—Strype. V. 3.—Meteren. Liv. 15. Fol. 302.—Grotii Hist. Belg. Lib. 1. p. 118.

(*t*) Hume's History of England. Vol. 5. p. 341.

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assumed; and We are presented with the View of floating Castles, whilst the Sea groans beneath their overpowering Weight, and the Winds appear tired with impelling it (u). More truly is it observed, (x) that the largest of the *Spanish* Vessels would scarcely pass for third Rates in the present Navy of England, yet were They either so ill constructed, or unskilfully managed, that They were quite unwieldy, could not sail upon a Wind, tack on occasion, nor be governed in tempestuous Weather, by the Mariners. In that *Æra*, the utmost Knowledge of the Ship-Builders, and the greatest Experience of the Seamen, fell considerably short of the Perfection necessary to serve for the Security, and Management of such bulky Vessels. The *English*, who knew that there were few Purposes to which They might be commodiously applied, beheld, without Terror, their formidable Appearance.

On the twenty-first of July, all the Ships which had sailed from *Plymouth*, being nearly an hundred in Number, recovered the Wind of the *Armada*, at the Distance of two Leagues to the Westward of *Edystone*. At nine in the Morning, the Lord High Admiral sent a Pinnace, called the *Defiance*, to denounce War against the Enemy, by a general Discharge of all her Cannon. This was soon followed by a Broadside from his own Ship, the *Ark-Royal*, poured into a Spanish Galleon, commanded by *Alphonso de Leva*, and, at first, mistaken for the *Saint Martin*, on Board of which was the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*. In the same Moment, *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Probisber* engaged those *Spanish* Ships which were astern, and under the Conduct of the Admiral, *Don Juan Martinez de Recalde*. Although this Officer, and his Associates displayed signal Proofs of

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(u) Camden. V. 2. p. 572.—Bentivoglio. P. 2. Lib. 4.—

(x) Hume.

Conduct, and Intrepidity, during a warm Action, yet his Squadron was thrown into the greatest Confusion, and, after having suffered considerable Damage, obliged to take Shelter near the grand Division of the Fleet.

The Duke of *Medina Sidonia* now threw out a Signal for all the Ships to fall into their respective Stations, and crowding more Sail, held on his Course. During the Space of two Hours, the *English* cannonaded the *Armada* in the Rear; but, at length, received Orders from the Lord High Admiral to desist, as forty Ships, which had but just quitted the Harbour of *Plymouth*, were at a great Distance from his Fleet. They were no sooner come up, than a Council of War was directed to assemble; and, shortly afterwards, each Captain received a Copy of his Instructions, which were to avoid a close Engagement with the *Spaniards*, (the Size of whose Ships, together with the Number of Soldiers, might, in that Case, prove a considerable Disadvantage,) but to infest Them with their Artillery at a Distance, and to wait the Opportunity which Winds, Currents, or various Accidents must afford Them of intercepting the scattered Vessels of the Enemy.

In the follow Night, a *Dutch* Gunner, who served in the *Guypuscoa* Squadron, under the Command of the Admiral, *Michael de Oquendo*, set Fire to a *Biscayan* Ship, on Board of which was a large Portion of the Treasure, in detestable Resentment for a supposed Insult which He had received from a *Spanish* Officer. The upper Deck, Steerage, and a Part of the Gun-Room, were consumed by the Flames. Whilst the Crew were employed in extinguishing these, and preserving the Money, the Ship dropped considerably astern of the *Armada*, and a great Galleon, sent to her Assistance, and commanded by Don *Pedro de Valdez*, was detained by the Springing of her Bowsprit, and Fore-mast. During a dark and tempestuous

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uous Night, it was impossible to repair the Damage, and at Sun rise the two Vessels were attacked, and, after a feeble Resistance, taken by Sir *Francis Drake*, who sent the Captains, and some Gentlemen on Board, Prisoners to *Dartmouth*, but ordered the Treasure to be divided among his Seamen (y).

The Accounts of some Authors observe, that the *Biscayan* Ship fell into the Hands of the *English*, on the succeeding Day, and that a great Galleon, on Board of which were four hundred, and fifty Men, struck to Sir *Francis Drake*, who discovering, in her Hold, a Chest containing fifty-five thousand Ducats, made a Present of it to his Crew. *Drake* having been, during the whole Night, in full Chace of five *German* Hulks, or Merchant-Ships, which He mistook for Vessels in the Service of the Enemy, neglected to observe the Orders which He had received to carry Lanthorns in his Tops. The Want of These occasioned the greater Part of the *English* Fleet to lay by until the Morning, before the Appearance of which the *Armada* passed near the *Start*, and had sailed as far to the *Leeward* as the *Berry*. Sir *Francis Drake*, and the Rest of the Squadron did not come up with the Lord High Admiral, until the next Evening. The former with only the *Bear* and *Mary Rose*, had pursued the Enemy within Culverin-Shot, all the preceding Night, whilst his whole Fleet was so far behind, that in the Morning, the nearest could scarcely be perceived half Mast high, and Several were out of Sight.

The Duke of *Medina Sidonia* passed the next Day in the Arrangement of his Fleet. The Admiral *Don Al-*

phonso

(y) Stowe's Annals—Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts—Grimstone's History of the Netherlands—Book 13. p. 1002.—Bentivoglio. P. 2. Lib. 4.

phonso de Leva was directed to form a Junction of the first, and last Squadron, after which, the proper Station in Battle was assigned to each Ship, pursuant to the Plan which had been fixed upon in *Spain*; and the respective Commanders were cautioned, to adhere strictly, on Pain of Death, to their Instructions. *Glich*, an Ensign, was sent to hasten the Duke of *Parma*, and to inform Him of the Approach of the *Armada*, of the Losses which it had suffered, and the Dangers which surrounded it. As the *Biscayan* Ship which *Drake* plundered, and relinquished, had been much damaged by the Fire, the *Spanish* Admiral gave Orders that She should be turned adrift, after the Officers, and Seamen had removed to another Vessel. When *Effingham* perceived Her to be deserted, He commanded the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Captain *John Hawkins* to drop along Side, in a small Skiff, and board Her. They found her a shattered Wreck: The Decks were fallen in, the Steerage almost reduced to Ashes, and the Stern intirely blown out. But the most melancholy Spectacle was that of fifty Wretches, whose Bodies were partly consumed by the Flames, and who still languished, with some Remains of Life, under the severest Tortures. The Stench arising from those Quarters of the Vessel, in which the Embers were yet smoaking, soon became so intolerably offensive that the *English* lost no Time in returning to their Fleet. On hearing their Report, the Lord High Admiral directed a Bark to take this miserable Hulk, in Tow; and thus, was She conveyed, with the nearly-expiring *Spaniards* on Board, to *Weymouth*.

At Day-Break of the twenty-third of July, the *Armada* tacked about, with the Wind at *North* (z), and bore down upon the *English*, who immediately changed their

(z) *North-East*, in M. S. in Bibl. Cotton.

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 287

their Course, and stood to the *Westward* (a). Several Attempts were made by each Fleet to obtain the Weather-Gage; and, at length, another Skirmish succeeded, which, after various, and indecisive Advantages, threw the contending Ships into some Disorder. At one Moment, when the Enemy had surrounded a small Detachment of the *English*, the last were gallantly relieved from their impending Danger by a Squadron which the Lord *Effingham* had sent to their Assistance. At another Moment, the *Spaniards*, with equal Intrepidity, defended, and preserved the *Biscayan* Admiral-Ship, the *Saint Ann*, when on the Point of striking to her Assailants. To the *Spaniards*, the enormous Size of their Ships was exceedingly disadvantageous, but to the *English*, particularly serviceable. Every Bullet shot from the Artillery of These took Place; whilst the Balls discharged from the highly-planted Cannon of the Former, flew over the Heads of their Enemy, and scarcely did the smallest Execution. The only *English-
man* who fell was Captain *Cope*, as he was br. vely fighting in a small Pinnace, named the *Defiance*, and belonging to Sir *William Winter* (b). Exclusive of the Advantages already mentioned, it may, without Partiality, be remarked that the *English* Mariners were more bold, and dexterous than the *Spaniards*; that They were accustomed to tempestuous Seas, and all the Dangers of a maritime Profession; that their Vessels, although inferior to the Ships belonging to the *Armada*, with Respect to Size, and Force, were more swift of Sail, and navigated with greater Ease (c). They attacked, retreated, poured in their Broad-Sides, and again
sheered

(a) *North-West*. Ibid.

(b) M. S. in Bibl. Cotton.

(c) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts. P. 321.

sheered off; whilst the *Spanish* Fleet lay, almost immoveably, on the Surface of the Ocean, a fair Mark for the Cannon of the Enemy. The Lord High Admiral had been advised by Officers, more valiant, than discreet, to grapple with, and board the *Spaniards*; but sensible of the fatal Consequences that would probably attend the Opposition of his Seamen to a numerous Multitude of armed Veterans, He immediately rejected so unwarrantable a Proposal. In his Opinion, the Misfortune, and Disgrace which must have resulted from a total Defeat, seemed likely to weigh heavier than the Advantage of a Victory. By the last, the Designs of a formidable Enemy might have been baffled, but not absolutely frustrated. In Consequence of the First, the State of *England* would have been endangered, perhaps, beyond the Possibility of a Relief.

As the printed Histories are silent with Regard to the particular Circumstances which attended the Engagements, during the Course of this Day, We shall present the Reader with the Substance of an Account, in Manuscript (d). The *Spaniards*, at first, approached, with full Sails, towards the *English* Ships, as if determined to attack Them. Observing that the *Ark-Royal*, the *Nonpareil*, the *Elizabeth-Jonas*, and the *Victory*, were prepared for Action, They, on a Sudden, took in their Courses, and dropped astern of the *Nonpareil*, which was stationed in the Rear. At this Juncture, the *Triumph*, the *Merchant-Royal*, the *Centurion*, the *Margaret and John*, the *Mary Rose*, and the *Golden-Lion* were bearing *Leeward*, and so widely separated from the Fleet, that the *Spanish* Gallies availed Themselves of a favourable Opportunity, and coming close abreast, began a fierce Engagement. It was continued during two Hours, with equal Obstinacy, when
the

(d) M. S. in Bibl. Cotton.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 289

the Galleasses perceiving that a Detachment from the *English* Fleet advanced towards Them, judged it prudent to sheer off.

The Wind now shifted to the *South-East*, and, shortly afterwards, to the *South-South-West*, when an *English* Squadron, in which were several Merchantmen, attacked that Division of the *Armada* which was stationed to the *Westward*, with such unremitting Violence, Intrepidity, and good Conduct, that every Ship seemed much disabled, and preparing to quit the Line, and discontinue the Engagement. At this Crisis, the Lord High Admiral threw out the Signal for the *Elizabeth-Jonas*, the Galleon of *Leicester*, the *Golden-Lion*, the *Victory*, the *Mary-Rose*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Swallow*, to proceed, with his Ship, the *Ark-Royal*, to the Renewal of the Action against the *Spaniards*. The more effectually to succour the *Triumph*, and the five Merchantmen, which were much galled by the Fire of the Enemy, *Effingham* gave Orders that the Ships should not discharge a single Cannon, until They had advanced within Musquet-Shot of the *Spaniards*. The Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, perceiving the Intention of his Adversaries, singled out sixteen of the most compleatly equipped Galleons, to intercept the Lord High Admiral, on his Passage to assist the *Triumph*. This Circumstance occasioned a severer Conflict than the Former; and the *Spaniards*, having sustained a considerable Loss, sheered off, with much Precipitation, in great Disorder.

Towards the Evening, a small Squadron of the *Armada* tacked about from the *South-Westward*, and were, soon afterwards, intercepted by some *English* Ships. Amongst These, was the *May-Flower* of *London*, the Crew of which kept up, for some Time, an uninterrupted Firing of their Cannon, and displayed, during the Course of an obstinate Engagement, the most indubitable

dubitable Proofs of Resolution, and good Conduct. The Battle between the adverse Fleets lasted from the Morning, until Night, and *Effingham*, the gallant Commander of the *Englisb*, was, on every Occasion, the most exposed to Danger. So incessant was the Discharge of Ordnance, that the Volleys of small Arms, although continually repeated, were seldom heard (e). In this Action, a large *Venetian Ship*, and several Transports were taken from the *Spaniards*.

On the twenty-fourth of July, a Cessation of Hostilities took Place between the two Fleets; an Event which, on the Side of the *Englisb*, was occasioned by a shameful Deficiency of Powder, and Ball (f). To supply it, the Lord High Admiral sent several Barks, and Pinnaces ashore, which returned, soon afterwards, with a considerable Quantity of these necessary Articles. Having divided Them amongst the different Ships, He arranged his Fleet in four Squadrons, and assuming the Command of the first, hoisted his Flag on Board of the *Ark-Royal*. The second was intrusted to Sir *Francis Drake*, in the *Revenge*; the third to Captain *John Hawkins*, in the *Victory*, and the fourth to Captain *Martin Frobisher*, in the *Triumph*. In the Afternoon, *Effingham* singled out the swiftest Sailers from the Body of the Fleet, designed to attack the *Armado*, in the Dead of the succeeding Night; but the Execution of this Enterprize was prevented by a Calm.

On the twenty-fifth, when the *Spanish Fleet* was abreast of the Isle of *Wight*, the *Saint-Ann*, a large *Portuguese Galleon*, fell astern, and, without Resistance, was taken by Captain *John Hawkins*. An Attempt to rescue Her was immediately made by three *Spanish Galleasses*, under the Command of *Don Alphonso de Leiva*, and *Don Diego Tellen Enrriquez*. These Vessels were much damaged

(e) M. S. in Bibl. Cotton.

(f) Sir Walter Raleigh's Essays.

damaged in the Conflict. The first was, with Difficulty, towed away, on the Carreen; a Shot from the *Ark-Royal* carried off a Part of the Stern, together with the Lanthorn, of the second; and the Sails, and Yards of the third were miserably shattered. Thenceforward, the other *Galleasses* of the *Spaniards*, intimidated by the Superiority of the *English*, in this particular Engagement, remained inactive Spectators of the Motions of their Adversaries. During the Commencement of the Battle, the grand Division of the *Armada* lay becalmed, at a considerable Distance; neither could the *Ark-Royal*, and the *Lion* have attacked the *Galleasses*, if They had not been towed abreast of Them by the great Long-Boats. At length, a light Breeze arose, and a Detachment from the *Spanish* Fleet bore down to the Assistance of *De Leiva*, and his Confederates, who were fortunately preserved from their impending Danger. The Fight was now general, but of short Continuance, except that the *Nonpareil*, and *Mary-Rose* sustained, for a full Hour, the united Opposition of the whole *Armada*. At this Juncture, the *Triumph*, which had fallen much to *Leeward*, was taken in Tow by a small Vessel, and recovered the Wind before some *Spanish* Ships could possess Themselves of the Weather-Gage. The Lord Edmund Sheffield, and Sir Robert Southwell, in the *White-Bear*, and the *Elizabeth-Jonas*, by advancing to relieve the *Triumph*, were exposed to the same Peril. They, notwithstanding, made a gallant Defence against the Squadron which attacked Them, and; at length, had the good Fortune to regain their Station.

Concerning the Engagements of this Day, the *Spaniards* have written differently. They observe, that their Admiral Ship, the *Saint Martin* was much galled by the Fire of the Enemy, that the Main-Mast was shot away by the Board, and that if *Mexia*, and *Re-*

calde had not arrived, in Time, to the Assistance of the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, He must have been forced either to strike, or perish. Supported by These, and the chief Division of the *Armada*, He renewed the Action against the *English* Admiral, who was indebted for his Escape to the Shifting of the Wind. After this Event, the *Spaniards* discontinued the Chace, and proceeding on their Course, sent an Express to the Duke of *Parma*, who was requested to join Them instantly with his Squadron, and provide a large Quantity of Ball and Powder, for the Service of the Fleet.

On the twenty-sixth, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Edmund Sheffield*, and the Captains *Roger Townsend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Frobisher* received the Honour of Knighthood, from the Lord High Admiral, in Consideration of the important Advantages which They had bestowed upon their Country, by the full Exertion of their Valour, and Abilities, in the Action against the *Spaniards* (g). After this Ceremony, a Council of War was holden on Board of the *Ark-Royal*, when, in Consequence of the Report that most of the naval Stores had been expended, it was determined to refrain from all Hostilities against the *Spaniards*, until They should have entered the Streights of *Dover*, where the Lord *Henry Seymour*, and Sir *Thomas Winter* were stationed to intercept Them. It was reasonable to conclude that, previous to this Event, a fresh Supply of Ammunition might be obtained from the adjacent Sea-Ports.

Meanwhile the *Armada*, with an easy Gale, at *South-Weſt*, and by *South*, proceeded up the Channel, the

(g) Camden, V. 2. . 576.—Stowe. p. 744.—Speed. p. 861.—Reidanus. L. 8 p. 173.—Memoirs of the Earl of Monmouth, p. 51.

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the *English* hanging on its Rear, and, at Intervals, annoying it with Shot. The Alarm was now general throughout the Kingdom, and Men of the first Rank, and Property, impatient to distinguish Themselves in the Service of the State, took the Command of their own Vessels, and hastening from every Harbour, reinforced the Fleet. Amongst these generous Volunteers were the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas, and Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Henry Brook, Sir Charles Blunt, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Ambrose Willoughby, Sir Thomas Vavasor, Sir Horatio Pallavicini, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Mr. Arthur Gage, Mr. Henry Nowell, Mr. Edward Darcy, Mr. Henry Dudley, Mr. Thomas Woodhouse, Mr. William Harvey, and many Others of the first Family, and Fortune (A).

On the twenty-seventh of July, the *Spanish* Fleet came to an Anchor before Calais, in Consequence of an Information from the Pilots, that if They ventured any farther, They might be in Danger of being forced away by the Current, into the Northern Channel. The Lord Henry Seymour, and Sir William Winter had now joined the Lord High Admiral, under whose Command were an Hundred, and forty Ships of War. Yet no more than sixteen bore a Part in the Engagement.

At this Juncture, the Duke of Medina Sidonia dispatched another Express to the Duke of Parma, desiring to be assisted with forty Fly-Boats, without which it was judged impossible to attack the light, and expeditious Vessels of the *English*. He was, also, pressed immediately to embark his Army, and prepare to embrace the earliest Opportunity of landing with it, on the Territories of the Enemy, under the Fire of the *Armada*. With these Injunctions, the Duke of Parma was un-

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able

(b) Camden, p. 547. Stowe, p. 747.

able to comply: His flat-bottomed Boats, ill-constructed from the first, were leaky, and decaying; the Number of his Troops was diminished by Sickneſs; and his Proviſions were conſiderably expended: But the great Obſtacle of all proceeded from Count *Juſſin*, of *Naffau*, who, with a formidable Squadron of Ships, from *Holland*, and from *Zeeland*, had blocked up *Dunkirk*, and *Nieuport*, the only Harbours from which the Duke of *Parma* could put off to Sea.

On the twenty-eighth, when the two Fleets were ſtill at Anchor, the Lord High Admiral perceiving that the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, had ſo ſtationed the larger Ships as to render it difficult to throw Them into the leaſt Confuſion, recurred to a ſucceſſful Stratagem, which was before in Contemplation, in Caſe the Enemy had ventured nearer to the *Thames*. He ſingled out eight of the worſt, and ſmalleſt Veſſels, and filling Them with combuſtible Materials, ſent Them about Midnight, before the Wind, and with the Tide, under the Conduct of the Captains *Young*, and *Prowſe*, to a competent Diſtance from the *Armada*, when the Trains were lighted by their Officers, who entering their Boats, returned immediately to the Fleet. At the Approach of the Fire-Ships, the *Spaniards* imagined that They were contrived on the ſame Principles with a famous Veſſel, of the deſtructive Properties of which, They had been Eye-Witneſſes, on the *Schelde*, and during the Siege of *Antwerp*. All were ſeized with Horror; in a Moment, They cut their Cables, ſet every Sail, and haſtened from the ſurrounding Flames with the greateſt Precipitation, and Diſorder. The Chief of the Galleaſſes loſt her Rudder, and driven violently by the Current, was, at length, ſtranded on the Sands of *Calais*. Thither, the Lord High Admiral ſent Sir *Amias Preſton*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, and Mr. *Harvey*, together with an hundred

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hundred Men, in Boats, to take possession of Her. On their Arrival, the *Spaniards* made a resolute Defence, nor yielded, until their Captain, *Don Hugo de Moncada* was slain by a Musquet-Shot, and four hundred Soldiers, and Rowers, either fell by the Sword, or perished amidst the Waves. The *English*, after having set at Liberty three hundred Slaves, who were on Board, and secured fifty thousand Ducats of Gold, a Part of the royal Treasure, abandoned the Vessel which, as a Wreck, was claimed by *De Gourdon*, the Governor of *Calais* (i).

When the Fire-Ships had blown up, and the Danger was concluded to be over, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* resumed his Station, and made a Signal for the Fleet to follow his Example. He was joined only by a small Number; the Rest had either failed to a considerable Distance, or run aground upon the Coast of *Flanders*. Of Those which were lying with their Admiral, near *Graveling*, the *English* had obtained the Weather-Gage, and, by this Advantage, were enabled not only to exclude Them from *Calais* Road, but to intercept the Succours which might, otherwise, have arrived from *Dunkirk*. At the same Time, They were exposed to the Fire of their Adversaries, and severely galled by Sir *Francis Drake*, in the *Revenge*, and the Captains *Thomas Fenner*, Sir *John Hawkins*, *Edward Fenton*, *Robert Cross*, Sir *George Beefton*, *Richard Hawkins*, and Sir *Robert Southwell*, in the *Nonpareil*, the *Victory*, the *Mary Rose*, the *Hope*, the *Dreadnought*, the *Swallow*, and the *Elizabeth-Jonas*. The Lord High-Admiral, and the Rest of the Fleet bore a Part in the Engagement, at the Close of which the Earl of *Cumberland*, Mr. *George Raymond*, Lord *Henry Seymour*, and Sir *William Winter*, in the *Elizabeth Bonaventure*,
Dread-

(i) M. S. in Bibl. Cotton.

Dreadnought, *Rainbow*, and *Vanguard*, cannonaded a large Galleon, which, with Difficulty, rejoined the *Armada*, but sunk on the Night following.

The Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and the Admirals *De Leva Oquendo*, and *Recalde* were now surrounded by the *English*, and attacked on all Quarters. A large Galleon of *Biscay*, and two *Saiques* (or *Ketches*), were sunk, during the Heat of the Action. The *Saint Matthew*, commanded by *Don Diego de Piemontelli*, endeavouring to cover the *Saint Philip*, severely damaged by the *Rainbow*, and *Vanguard*, received a Broadside from *Peter Bouderdues* (k) and immediately struck to that Officer, who carried his Prize to *Zaaland*. At the same Time, one of the largest Ships belonging to the *Spaniards* was cast away upon the Coast of *Flanders*. The *Saint Philip*, after having been driven almost as far as *Ostend* was deserted by her Captain, and at length fell into the Hands of the *Flushingers*, whose Vessels had been cruising in those Parts. Thus unsuccessful, during the Course of this Day, were the scattered Squadrons of the *Invincible Armada*.

We learn from the Testimony of contemporary Writers that the general Conduct of the naval Commanders, in the Service of *Elizabeth*, was brave to an Extreme; and, in Justice to the Memory of the more particularly gallant Officers, it must be added that the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lords *Henry Seymour*, *Thomas Howard*, and *Edmund Sheffield*; Sir *William Winter*, Sir *Robert Southwell*, Sir *George Beefton*, Sir *John Hawkins*, together with the Captains *Edward Fenton*, *George Raymond*, *Richard Hawkins*, and *Robert Cross*, are recorded to have distinguished Themselves by unexampled Feats of Valour. The last Commanders not only attacked three *Biscayan* Ships of great Force, but had

(k) Harris's Col.

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had the good Fortune after a long, and desperate Engagement, to sink them all (1).

Early on the Morning of the thirty-first of July, the *Spaniards* attempted to retreat from Enemies, of whose Superiority They had been fatally convinced, and proceeded *Southward* towards the Streights of *Calais*. They were scarcely under Sail when the Wind shifted to the *North-West*, and drove them on the Coast of *Zealand*. Thither, the *English* who judged their Destruction to be inevitable, amidst Sands, and Shallows, were too prudent to pursue Them. At this dangerous Crisis, the Wind veered suddenly to the *South-West*, when the *Armada* tacked, and sailing before it, regained the open Sea.

In the Evening, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* held a Council of War, at which the different Commanders, alarmed at their ill Successes, and defenceless Situation, enforced the Expediency of escaping from the *English*. They remarked that, during the several Actions, the best Ships belonging to the *Armada* had been either lost, or so considerably damaged as to have proved unfit for Service; that the Adversary, fortunate in all other Respects, had been deprived only of a small Vessel, without which their naval Superiority remained as great as ever; that the peremptory Refusal of the Duke of *Parma*, to quit the Harbour, and expose his Forces to such apparent Danger, was to be regarded by the *Spaniards*, as the melancholy Signal for their precipitate Retreat; that their Powder and Cannon Balls, were nearly expended; the Water, and Provisions almost consumed; the Mariners, in general, either sick or wounded; Multitudes of the Soldiers slain, and all the Anchors of the Ships remaining in the Road of *Calais*. For these Reasons, it was unanimously determined to sail *Northwards*, and making the Circuit

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(1) Speed. p. 862.

of the *British* Islands, return into the *Spanish* Harbours by the Ocean (m).

Every Sail was now set, and the *Armada*, with the *English* close in their Rear, stood out to Sea. After the *Spaniards* had passed the *Orkneys*, a violent Storm arose, when the disheartened Mariners, submitting to the Fury of it, allowed the Ships to drive on the adjacent Coasts. All of those unhappy Wretches who were shipwrecked, and cast a-shore in *Ireland*, were either slain immediately upon the Spot, or reserved to perish by the Hands of the Executioners. Sir *William Fitz-William*, the Lord Deputy, by whose Orders this detestable Barbarity was committed, is mentioned to have pleaded, in his Defence, his Fears that They would have joined the Rebels (n). To the humane Reader it will be some Satisfaction that there is Room to doubt the Truth of this Relation (o); but an Attempt, in this Place, to disprove it, would lead me too far beyond the Limits of my Subject.

During the Tempest, one Division of the *Armada* was driven back into the *English* Channel, where the Ships were separately engaged, and, after a feeble Resistance, taken, partly by the Cruizers in the Service of *Elizabeth*, and, partly by some Vessels belonging to *Rochelle*. Of the large Galleons of *Spain*, fifteen were lost on the Coasts of *Argyleshire*, and amongst the *Western* Islands. All, but five Hundred of the vast Multitude on Board of these Vessels, were supposed to have

(m) Camden.—Stowe.—Monson—Strype—Speed, p. 862.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. 477.—Discourse concerning the Spanish Fleet invading England in the Year 1588, &c. Written originally in Italian, by Petruccio Ubaldino, of Florence. London, 1690 Quarto, p. 15.

(n) Strype's Annals, V. 3. p. 522.—Rapin's History of England, V. 7. 8vo. p. 511.

(o) Moryson, B. C. 1.—Sullivan.—Cox.—Leland's Hist. of Ireland. V. 1. B. 4. C. 3.

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have perished in the Ocean. The Survivors, languishing under the Severity of Hunger, Fatigue, and Nakedness, with Difficulty, moved on to *Edinburgh*, where the charitable Inhabitants not only cloathed, and fed Them, but equipped some Vessels for the Purpose of conveying Them to *Spain*. During their Passage, They were forced, by a Storm, upon the Coasts of *Norfolk*, and obliged to put into *Tarmouth*, where the Magistrates detained Them until the Privy-Council sent Notice, that the Queen permitted Them to renew their Voyage (p).

Such, in the Space of a single Month, was the wretched, and disgraceful Fate of Ships, concerning which the *Spaniards* had observed that "wheresoever They turned their Sails, a certain Victory must wait upon their Course, and that the English Fleets could never dare to intercept them." We are told of the Fortitude, Resignation, and Composure with which *Philip* (who could preserve the Serenity of his Countenance, whilst his Heart was tortured by the Disappointments of Ambition,) received the News of this calamitous Event. Admiring the patient Heroism of his Conduct, shall We believe that, falling on his Knees, He thanked the GREAT DISPENSER OF PROSPERITY and Misfortune, that his Afflictions were not severer (q)? Or, must it be imagined, that the hearing of this humiliating Circumstance, whilst He was engaged in writing Letters, He desisted, only for a Moment from his Employment,

(p) Stowe's Annals, p. 749—Sturpe's Annals, V. V. 3. p. 226. Append :—Meteren, Liv. 15. Fol. 305—306—Bentivoglio, P. 2. Lib. 4—Certain Advertisements out of Ireland concerning the Losses, and Distresses happened to the Spanish Navy. London. 1588. Quarto—Lord Burleigh's Journal of the Reign of Elizabeth, in Murdin's Collection of State Papers. p. 788.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 478.
(q) Camden.

Employment, and coolly said, "*I sent my Fleets to seize the Navy of Elizabeth, but not to fight against the Winds, and Tempests.*" Perhaps, the truest Account is yet to come, and it is more natural to believe a Fugitive from the Court of *England* (r) who was present with the King of *Spain*, at *Mals*, when He received Intelligence of the Defeat of the *Armada* and heard Him swear that He "would consume his Crown even to the Value of an Altar-Candlestick, either absolutely to ruin *Elizabeth*, and her Subjects, or to sink, with all *Spain*, into the tributary Dependents on the *English*." We may remark, with a late naval Writer (s) that *Philip* discovered by his succeeding conduct, that if these were not his Words, at least they must have been his Thoughts. The Priests, whose powerful Benedictions had been lavished with such Profusion on this invincible *Armada*, were for a Moment, unable to assign a Reason why the Catholics should have been conquered by excommunicated Heretics. At length, the Mystery was unravelled, and the sagacious Ministers of the Church of *Rome* convinced her Followers that the Calamities of the *Spaniards* were judgments with which They had been visited by an offended Deity, who beheld, with Indignation, their Lenity to the *Moorish* Infidels, permitted, until that Period, to reside, and carry on a Trade, in their Dominions.

We learn from several Historians, that during the Months of July, and August, fifteen great Ships, and four thousand, seven hundred, and ninety-one Men, belonging to the *Armada*, were either lost, or taken in the Action between the Fleets of *Philip*, and *Elizabeth*, near the *English* Channel: and that, in September, on the Coast of *Ireland*, seventeen large Vessels were dashed

(r) *Anthony Coppley*. *Strype's Annals*, V. 3. p. 525.

(s) *Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*. V. 1. p. 479.

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ashed to Pieces, and five thousand, three hundred, and ninety-four *Spaniards* buried in the Waves. In the total Loss, were comprehended thirty-two Ships, and ten thousand, one hundred, and eighty-five Persons. Such is the Purport of some particular Relations; but other Writers (t) have observed that out of one hundred and thirty-four Ships, which proceeded from *Lisbon*, only fifty-three returned to *Spain*. Of the four Galleasses, but one remained; and but One, also, of the great Galleons of *Portugal*. No more than thirty-three of the ninety-one Galleons, and large Hulks, equipped by several Provinces, escaped to their respective Harbours. The Loss, in this Account, amounts to eighty-one Ships, and upwards of thirteen thousand, and five hundred Officers, Mariners, and Soldiers (u). So great was the Loss, also, of the Nobility, and Gentry on Board of the *Armada*, that most, if not all, of the illustrious Families in *Spain*, appeared in Mourning; but *Philip*, who, probably, beheld, with some Vexation, these melancholy Remembrances of his Misfortunes, and Disgrace, gave Orders that the usual Time of wearing such outward Marks of Grief should be considerably shortened.

More pleasing were the Prospects of *Elizabeth*. Her Dominions resounded with universal Joy. Every Protestant Power in *Europe* was happy to receive Her as a Protectress. By These, and by her Subjects, She was loved, and honoured; whilst the Roman-Catholic States

(t) Stowe—Harris's Col. Append. Hackluyt.

(u) Soon after the Accounts of the ill Successes of the *Armada* had reached *Rome*, the following Stroke of Wit was affixed to *Pasquin*. "Pontificem mille Annorum Indulgentias largitutum esse de Plenitudine Potestatis suæ, si Quis certò, sibi indicaverit quid sit factum de Classe Hispanicâ? Quo abierit? in Cælum ne sublata? an ad Tartara detrusa? vel in aere alicubi pendeat? an in aliquo Mari fluctuet?" Strype's Annal. V. 3. p. 522.

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States looked back with a Degree of Terror, and Amazement, on the fortunate Success of those Arms which, although at first resorted to for the Purposes of Self-Defence, might be assumed, hereafter, to facilitate, by their destructive Powers, the Views of an aspiring and offended Foe (x).

We shall close the Relation of this memorable Event with a Passage which, exclusive of some Alterations in the Language, is copied from the Tracts of a naval Writer (y), whose Opinion hath been received, by the Generality of Historians, with that Deference to which it is entitled.

Notwithstanding that the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, who had received Intelligence of the Situation of the *English* Fleet, was convinced that by surprizing Them in their Harbours, and destroying their naval Force, He must have acquired the first Advantage of an Invader, which is the Power of landing, at any Period, in such Places as He might deem the most convenient; yet if his Measures had succeeded to his utmost Wishes, He could not have been commended for disobeying the Injunctions of his Sovereign. What Blame, therefore,

did

(x) Medals were stricken by Order of *Elizabeth*, to commemorate the Destruction of the *Armada*. On one, with great Propriety, was inscribed *Affavit DEUS, et dissipantur*. His blew with his Wind, and They are scattered. The beautiful Lines in Claudian (1), applied by Bishop *Burnet* to the Prince of *Orange*, after his quick, and favourable Passage from *Holland*, to *England*, are well introduced by the late excellent Author (2) of a Biographical History, as a Compliment to *Elizabeth*, on the Successes of her Fleet. A Courtier of that *Era* may, perhaps, have paid it to the living Sovereign. It is at least certain that she was disposed graciously to receive more fulsome Panegyrics.

(1) *Ah nimium dilecta Deo! cui militat Æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad Classica Venti.*

(2) The Reverend *James Granger*.

(y) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts.

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did He not deserve, when by a Breach of Orders, He gave Occasion to those Calamities which followed his Misconduct?

Neither the Plea of Inexperience, nor of Deference to the Opinion of the Admiral *Don Diego Florez de Valdez* could have operated in his Behalf, at his Return to *Spain*; and Death, or perpetual Imprisonment must have been his Lot, if his Duchess, the Favourite of *Philip*, had not succeeded in her Supplications for the Pardon of her Husband.

Previous to the Arrival of the Ships which escaped from this Expedition, it was known, in *Spain*, that *Don Dieg Florez de Valdez* was the first Officer who proposed a Disobedience to the Directions given by the King, who, to revenge this Insult, commanded that in whatsoever Port He might arrive, at his Return, He should be seized, and carried to the Castle of Saint *Andrea*. My Fellow-Prisoner at *Lisbon*, and One who had been Page to *De Valdez*, informed me that these Orders were carried into Execution, and that his Master was neither seen, nor heard of, from that Moment.

If the Directions of *Philip*, had been really followed, then had his Fleet kept the Coast of *France*, and arrived in the Road to *Calais*, before they could have been discovered by the *English*, which might have endangered her Majesty, and the Realm, as our Ships were at the Distance of *Plymouth*. Although the Duke of *Parma* might not have been ready, on the Instant, yet He would have gained sufficient Time, during the Absence of the *English* Fleet, to have joined the *Spaniards*, with his Forces.

Moreover, the Squadron of thirty Sail, under the Command of Count *Justin*, of *Nassau*, and stationed to confine the Duke of *Parma* within the Port of *Dunkirk*, might have been dispersed by an equal Number of

of Ships from the *Armada*; and thus, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* might have secured the Junction of the Fleet, and Forces. With what Ease They might have reached *England*, after the Completion of this Enterprize, and how fatal to that Nation, the Consequences of their Landing must have proved, may readily be supposed.

But it was the will of the SUPREME DISPOSER OF EVENTS that the Fleets should meet; that the *Spaniards* should be subdued, and driven away from their Anchorings in *Calais Road*; that the Duke of *Parma* should be shut up within the Harbour; and that the miserable Remains of the *Armada* should be wrecked upon the Coast of *Scotland*, and of *Ireland*. Thus did God marvellously defend us against the dangerous Intentions of the Enemy.

At this Juncture, the *English* lost the Opportunity of gaining a glorious and decisive Victory. If, when the *Spaniards* were driven from the Road, at *Calais*, the Lord *Effingham* had offered Them Battle, it is certain that the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, seduced by the Persuasions of his Confessor, would have yielded to his Adversaries; and this Example might probably, have been followed by the whole *Armada*. That the *English* evaded the Engagement must not be imputed either to any Negligence or Irresolution of their Lord High Admiral, but, absolutely, to the criminal Supineness of Those who were directed to supply the Fleet with all necessary Stores. It was in this important Moment, when Powder, and Shot were the most wanting, that *Effingham* discovered that these Articles were just expended, and, in Consequence of a Scarcity so alarming, judged it requisite to sail for *England*.

It must, also, be observed, that a second Advantage, almost equal to the first, was shamefully abandoned, when no Orders were issued for a Division of our Fleet

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to proceed towards the *Western Ports of Ireland*, by which the *Spaniards* were obliged to pass. Had We followed this Course, a complete Victory might have been gained over the once formidable *Armada*, which (if We can trust the Testimony of Those who suffered Shipwreck,) was become too feeble to resist us.

At the Close of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty-eight, *Giles Fletcher*, a Doctor of civil Laws, was sent by *Elizabeth*, on an Embassy to *Russia*, with Directions to obtain a full Confirmation of the former commercial Privileges which the *Czar* had granted to the *English*. They were not only ratified, but considerably increased soon after his Arrival (2). The Trade, also, to the Coast of *Guinea* became more flourishing, at this Period, and the Queen issued Letters Patent to the Merchants of *London*, and *Exeter*, by which They were empowered to establish a commercial Settlement near the Rivers of *Senegal*, and *Gambia* (a).

In May of the following Year, Captain *William Michelson* proceeded from *England* towards the *West Indies*, in a Vessel called the *Dog*, of the Burthen of seventy Tons, and manned with forty Sailors. During his Voyage, and in the Bay of *Mexico*, He intercepted, and engaged some *Spanish* Ships, of which three struck, after a short Resistance.

The last Vessel was a Man of War, whom the *English* fought for the Space of three Days. At length, the *Spaniards*, despairing of Success, by Force, hung out a Flag of Truce, and intreated their Adversaries to grant a Parley. No sooner was the Request complied with, than several of the *Spaniards* came on Board the *Dog*, where *Michelson* received Them with a Degree of Cour-

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(2) Hackluyt. P. 1. p. 473.—Purchas. V. 3. p. 413.—Fletcher's Treatise of Russia.

(a) Hackluyt. V. 2. P. 2. p. 123.

tesy unusual in an Enemy. He was now invited to return the Visit, and, with most of his Associates, imprudently consented. On their Entrance within the Ship, They were furiously assailed, and their Captain, the Pilot, and Others slain upon the Spot. The Rest escaped by plunging immediately into the Ocean, and swimming to their Vessel. Deprived of their best Hands, their Situation was too alarming to admit of an Endeavour to revenge this Treachery. They, therefore, hastened from the *Spaniards*, and, crowding every Sail, proceeded on their Return to England, where They arrived on the tenth of September, and in the same Year (b).

At this Period, *John Chidley*, a Gentleman of *Devonshire*, together with Mr. *Paul Wheel*, and Captain *Andrew Merick*, fitted out a small Squadron, of which the *Wild-Man*, of three hundred Tons Burthen, and one hundred, and eighty Officers, and Seamen, was commanded by the first of these Adventurers, under whom *Benjamin Wood* acted as Master.

The next Ship was the *White-Lion*, Captain *Paul Wheel*; the Master, *John Ellis*, with one hundred, and forty Men.

The last was the *Delight* of *Bristol*, commanded by *Andrew Merick*; the Master *Robert Burnet*, with ninety-one Mariners, including Men and Boys. Exclusive of these Vessels, were two Pinnaces, each of the Burthen of fifteen Tons. Their Destination was to the South Sea, by the Straights of *Magellan*, and chiefly, to the celebrated Province of *Aranco*, on the Coast of *Chili*.

They sailed together as far as the *Canaries*, and from thence, to *Cape Blanco*, on the Coast of *Barbary*. Within twelve Days after their Departure from that Place, the *Delight* was separated from the two larger Ships, and from the Pinnaces. She now, pursuant to her first

Instruc-

(b) Hackluyt. P. 3. p. 557.

Instructions, proceeded along the Coast of *Brazil*, and by the River of *Plate*, without coming to an Anchor, until She arrived at *Port Desire*, in forty-eight Degrees of *Southern* Latitude, previous to which Period, sixteen of the Mariners had fallen sick, and died. In this Harbour, She remained during seventeen Days, but was not so fortunate as to be joined by any of her Consorts.

From *Port Desire*, Captain *Merick*, and his Associates sailed towards the Streights of *Magellan*, which They entered on the first of January, in the Year, one Thousand five Hundred, and Ninety, and dropped Anchor near the Island of *Pengwyn*. To this Place, fifteen of the Men were sent ashore for Water, and other Necessaries: Soon afterwards a Storm arose, in which it was imagined that they were lost, as neither the Boat, nor any of the Mariners who ventured in it, were seen again.

The *English* now passed farther up the Streights, and, within Hail of *Port Famine*, conversed with a *Spaniard*, who observed that He had arrived there during six Years, and was one of the four Hundred who, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty-two, was sent to fortify, and maintain the Place, for their Sovereign, who had given Orders that all Strangers should be intercepted on their Passage by it, to the *South Sea*.

Here the *English* constructed a Boat of the Wood which, before, had formed their Chests. Having finished it, They dispatched seven Men armed, to the *North Shore*. In the Moment that They disembarked, a Body of an hundred Savages assailed Them on every Side, and, after a short Conflict, left them dead upon the Spot. The two Rowers of the Boat escaped, with Difficulty, to the Ship.

After this Event, They fell back again to the *North-Eastward* of *Port Famine*, and anchored in a Road where They procured a Supply of Fish, Wood, and Water.

Here, also, They received on Board, the *Spaniard* already mentioned, and then sailed forwards into the Streight. Seven, or eight Times, they passed ten Leagues *Westward*, beyond *Cape Froward*; but a violent, and contrary *North-West* Wind, together with the Currents, proved the frequent Occasion of their losing more Way, in two Hours, than They could recover in eight.

In the Midst of their Misfortunes, when They had passed six Weeks in the Streights, striving against the Fury of the Elements; where at different Times, partly by Casualties, and partly by Sickness, They had lost thirty-eight of the most experienced Seamen; when only a single Anchor remained; and when (of all the Accidents the first to be lamented,) the Crew had begun to mutiny, the Captain determined, for the Safety of the Whole, to repair to *England*, and, on the fourteenth of the Month of February, departed from the Streights.

They returned once more by the River of *Plate*, and sailing near the Coast of *Brazil*, descried a *Portuguese* Ship of eighty Tons Burthen, which rode at Anchor near the Shore, but soon, alarmed at the Appearance of the *Delight*, cut all the Cables, and ran aground between the Island of *Saint Sebastian*, and the main Land. With greater Safety, She might have kept her Station. In such tempestuous Weather, and without a proper Boat, it was not possible for the *English* to approach.

The *Delight* now sailed to the *Azores*, and, next, arriving in the narrow Seas, made the Isle of *Alderney*. She ran in about eight Miles to the West of *Cherburg*, in *Normandy*, and, soon afterwards, when only six of the Crew remained alive, was dashed to Pieces on a Rock. But four of these unhappy Wretches returned to *England*.

gland to tell the Fate of their Companions (c).

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety, as ten *English* Merchant Ships, named the *Solomon*, the *Margaret* and *John*, the *Minion*, the *Ascension*, the *Centurion*, the *Violet*, the *Samuel*, the *Crescent*, the *Elizabeth*, and the *Richard* had, in sailing homewards from the *Levant*, approached the Entrance of the Streights, at no considerable Distance from the Coasts of *Barbary*, They descried twelve large Gallies, and concluding that They were Enemies, prepared for a Defence.

Early on the following Day, being the twenty-fourth of April, this formidable Squadron bore down upon the *English*, who recollected it to be that which was intrusted, by the King of *Spain*, to Don *Andrea Doria*, his Vice Roy in the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and the inveterate Foe of the Subjects of *Elizabeth*. The *English* now arranged their least powerful, and smallest Ships in the Van, whilst, for the Defence of These, the largest were stationed in the Rear. Thus prepared, They waited for the Attack,

The first Hostilities were committed by the *Spaniards*, when the *Solomon* returned their Fire by so severe a Cannonading, that Numbers of the Men were killed on Board of a large Galley which, having been pierced, in every Part, with the Shot, was on the Point of sinking. At this Instant, the Engagement became general, and the Discharge of Guns from each Squadron continued during the Space of six Hours. Amongst the Ships which did the greatest Execution, were the *Solomon*, the *Margaret* and *John*, the *Minion*, and the *Ascension*.

At the Commencement of the Action, two *Flemish* Vessels had joined the *English* Squadron, but soon afterwards, intimidated by the superior Force of the *Spaniards*,

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(c) Hackluyt. P. 3. p. 839.

niards, retreated from the Line of Battle, when the Captains agreed to strike their Colours. One yielded immediately, and his Example would have been followed by the Other, if a Trumpeter, less dastardly than the Officers, and Seamen, had not drawn his Hanger, and threatened the Pilot with instant Death, unless He joined the *English*. This Menace proved successful, and the *Flemish* Vessel, by renewing the Engagement, escaped the Fate of her Companion.

After a long, and furious Conflict, the *Spaniards*, whose Gallies were miserably shattered, left the Sea open to the Enemy, and hastened, for Security, to an adjoining Harbour. It is remarkable that on the Side of the *English*, only one Man was lost, neither did any Ship, except the *Solomon*, receive the least Damage. During the whole six Hours, this Vessel was in the Heat of the Engagement, and poured the first, and last Broad-Side into the Gallies, by the Shot from which, She lost her Shrouds, and Back-Stay.

As but little Wind was stirring, the *English* lay to, for some Time, within Sight of *Gibraltar*. It was expected, when a Calm ensued, that the Gallies would have availed Themselves of this Advantage, to attack their Adversaries. But neither the Menaces, nor Persuasions of *Doria* could induce the frightened *Spaniards* to renew the Enterprize. Of this, the *English* were informed at *Tition*, in *Barbary*; and, also, that two of the Gallies were so pierced with Shot, that it was difficult to prevent them from sinking before They reached the Harbour; that all the Rest were rendered unserviceable; and that the *Spaniards* would not be able to send any more Gallies to Sea, during the Remainder of the Year, as, in this Action, such Numbers of their Mariners had

had been killed. In the Beginning of July, the *English* arrived safely at their respective Ports (d).

Elizabeth, convinced that no Circumstances could more effectually weaken the growing Power of her ambitious Adversary, the King of *Spain*, than the Seizure of those immense Treasures which He expected to receive from the *West Indies*, gave Orders for the immediate Equipment of a Squadron, designed to intercept the *Plate-Fleet*, on its Return to *Europe*. Seven Men of War, together with some small Pinnaces, were chosen for this Service. The Lord *Thomas Howard*, second Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, was appointed, with the Rank of Admiral, to the Command of the *Defiance*. Under this Officer, and in the *Revenge*, was Sir *Richard Grenville*, the Vice Admiral: The Captains *Cross*, *Fenner*, *Vavasor*, *Duffield*, and Sir *Edward Dennis* were in the *Nonpareil*, *Bonaventure*, *Lion*, *Forefight*, and *Crane*. Exclusive of These, a like Number of Vessels had been fitted out by private Adventurers.

With this Fleet, (of the Destination of which *Philip* had received Intelligence,) the Lord *Thomas Howard* proceeded, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred and Ninety-one, to the *Azores*, and remained, during six Months, at the Isle of *Flores*, expecting with Impatience, to intercept the Enemy, whom *Philip* had directed to continue in *America* as long as possible, supposing that, under such Delay, the *English*, in Despair of meeting Them, might return homewards.

At length a powerful naval Force of fifty-three Sail, under the Command of *Don Antonio Bassano*, proceeded from *Spain*, to escort the *Indian Fleet*, and was discovered by the *Moon-Shine*, a Ship belonging to the Earl of *Cumberland*, which bore down within Cannon-Shot of the Enemy, and, having made the necessary Obser-

vations

(d) Hackluyt, V. 2. P. 2. p. 166.

vations, resumed her Course, and failed to inform the Lord *Howard* of their Approach. In the Evening, (e) She came up with the Admiral, and, soon afterwards, the *Spaniards* were in Sight. Only one Ship of the *English* Squadron was engaged with the whole *Armada*. This was the *Revenge*, the first Man of War in the Service of *Elizabeth* which surrendered to the *Spaniards*. To the gallant Commander of this Vessel, Sir *Richard Grenville*, (who did not survive the Action, but whose Name yet lives in the Applause of Posterity,) a Victory had been less glorious. We feel an Eagerness to relate the Particulars of his Conduct; but must repress it till We enter on his Memoirs.

The Lord *Howard*, after having taken some valuable Prizes, returned safely, with the Remainder of his Fleet, to *England*. The *Spaniards* were less successful. Nearly an hundred of their Vessels, on Board of which was a great Part of the *West-Indian* Treasure, were lost, during the Violence of a Tempest, on their Passage from the *Havannah* (f).

The next memorable Sea-Engagement which deserves our Notice, in this Place, was between the *English*, and the *Spaniards*, on the thirteenth of June, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety-one. At this Period, Sir *George Carey*, Marshal of the Household to the Queen, and Captain of the Isle of *Wight*, was stationed with three Ships, two of which were the *Hopewell*, and the *Swallow*, together with the *Content*, a small Bark, near *Cape Corrientes*, in the *West-Indies*.

(e) August 31st.

(f) Purchas, V. 4. p. 1678.—Camden. V. 3. p. 637. 538.—Sir William Monson. p. 171, 179.—Carew's Survey of Cornwall. Fol. 62.—Sir Walter Raleigh's true Report, in Hackluyt. V. 2. p. 169.—Linschotten's Voyages, Book 1. Ch. 99.—Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations. p. 10.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 486. 487.—Lejard's Naval History. Fol. V. 1. p. 279, 280.

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Indies. Early in the Morning, He descried six Sail of *Spanish* Vessels. Four were *Armadas*, or Ships of War; the two largest of seven hundred, and the smallest only of six hundred Tons; the others were Transports, and of an hundred Tons, each.

The *English*, who supposed Them to be the *Carthagena* Fleet, prepared for Action, and bore down upon Them, with Shouts of Joy. The *Hopewell*, and the *Swallow* fell to Leeward of the *Spanish* Admiral, whilst the *Content* gained the Weather-Gage of the Vice-Admiral, and, after a Discharge of her Swivels, and small Arms, dropped along Side of another Ship, which She cannonaded, with great Fury, for some Time, and, at last, obliged Her to sheer off.

Sir *George Carey* was now engaged with the *Spanish* Admiral, and, soon afterwards, shamefully deserted by the *Hopewell*, and the *Swallow*. At this Juncture, the *Content* proceeded to his Assistance, when two Vessels belonging to the Enemy made an Attempt to board the Latter, but were repulsed with great Slaughter. This Action lasted during three Hours, at the Close of which, the *Spaniards* retreated, and stood towards the North.

Still the *Hopewell*, and the *Swallow* declined engaging, and failed, close by the Wind, and far to the Eastward, regardless of the necessity of affording some Succours to Sir *George Carey*, who, crowding every Sail attempted to avoid an Adversary whom it was impossible, singly to oppose.

Meanwhile, the *Content* was forced to the Northwards, by two of the large, and one of the smallest *Spanish* Vessels, which enjoyed the Advantage of a brisk Gale, whilst the Former was almost becalmed. As a last Resource, the *Content* now shipped her Oars, resolving to row nearer to the Shore, and anchor in so shallow a Water, that the great Vessels might not be able to approach.

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V. 3. p. 637.
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The *Spanish* Admiral, perceiving this Design, gave Orders that one of the small Ships should be doubly manned, and towed by Boats, along Side of the *Content*, for the Purpose of annoying Her with Fire-Arms, until the larger Vessels might be able to get up: But when the Enemy had approached within Musket-Shot, a fair Wind arose, blowing at *North-West*, full from the Shore, and the *Content* stood immediately to the *East*. Shortly afterwards, She observed two Sail within the Offing, and, at first, concluded that They were the *Hopewell* and the *Swallow*, advancing to her Assistance. They were, however, soon discovered to be the Gallies of the Enemy, and, on the Signal from their Admiral, rowed nearer to the *Content*, when the *Spaniards* seemed prepared to board Her, but were so harrassed by the incessant Discharge of Small-Arms from the *English*, and affrighted at the Explosion of some Fire-Balls which had been thrown into the Gallies, that They retired with the utmost Precipitation, and Disorder. In a short Time the two Gallies returned, in Company with a Frigate, and were preparing for an Attack, when the Crew of the *Content* exclaimed, that They were resolved to set Them at Defiance, and, to the last Extremity, defend the Vessel. Although the *Spaniards* had already fired a Shot, yet, now, as if anxious to evade an Action, They dropped astern.

Exclusive of some momentary Interruptions, the Engagement lasted from Seven, in the Morning, until Eleven at Night, during all which Time, not a single Man was killed on Board of the *Content*, and only two were wounded. As the Wind arose at *East North-East*, the *English* proceeded on their Course, and, at Day-Break, observed the Enemy to the Leeward, and in a general Chace. Before Noon, They relinquished their Pursuit,

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suit, and changing their Course, were shortly out of Sight.

The gallant Commander of the *Content* was *Nicholas Lisle*, who, with a small Number of Associates (g), and but few Arms, sustained, during sixteen Hours, the repeated Attacks of four Ships, and two Gallies. The Sides, Hull, and Masts of the *Content* were pierced by Musket-Balls: Her Sheets, Tops, and Shrouds were nearly cut asunder. Nineteen great Shot had passed through the Main-Sail; four through the Main-Top-Sail; seven through the Fore-sail; five through the Fore-Top-Sail; and through the Main-Mast, one (h).

We shall close the Account of the naval Transactions of this Year, with the Particulars of the brave Resistance of the *Centurion*, an *English* Vessel in the *Turkey* Trade, and under the Command of *Robert Bradshaw*, who, on his Return from *Marseilles*, was attacked near the Mouth of the Streights, by five *Spanish* Gallies, on Board of which were a thousand Men. They immediately grappled the *Centurion*, two being on each Side, and one astern: but the *English* Captain, with only forty-eight Men, and two Boys, made so desperate a Defence, during the Course of five Hours, that the *Spaniards* were obliged to sheer off, and decline a Conflict, in which Numbers of their Associates were either killed by their Opponents, or perished by plunging, from this Scene of Slaughter, into the Ocean. On board of the *Centurion*, (the Sails of which were frequently set on Fire, by Shot from the Gallies), only four Men were slain, and ten wounded. On the Day follow-

(g) A Lieutenant, Master, Masters-Mate, Gunner, Boat-swain, seven Mariners, and ten Persons in the Hold.

(h) Hackluyt. P. 3. 565.

following, the *English* were approached by six other *Spanish* Ships; but even These, notwithstanding that the *Centurion* was exceedingly damaged, avoided an Engagement (i).

In the Year, one Thousand five Hundred, and Ninety-two, an Expedition was undertaken to the *West-Indies*, by four Adventurers, *Christopher Newport*, *Hugh Merrick*, *Robert Fred*, and *Henry Kidgil*, in the *Golden Dragon*, the *Prudence*, the *Margaret*, and the *Virgin*, the last of which was a Pinnace. This little Squadron sailed on the twelfth of February, from *Dover Road*, and after a prosperous Voyage, arrived, on the fourth of April, at *Dominica*, where They bartered with the Savages, for Tobacco, Fowls, Potatoes, and other Necessaries. At a small Distance from this Place, They took a *Portuguese* Ship, of the Burthen of three hundred Tons, bound from *Guinea*, to *Carthagen*, and having, on Board, three hundred Negroes, which the *English* carried to *Puerto Rico*, where They set Them on Shore, and then sunk the Ship.

On the twelfth, as They were sailing to the *Westward*, and near the *Southern Coast* of *Hispaniola*, They took a Frigate, (bound also to *Puerto Rico*, for the Purpose of procuring Wine), and were so fortunate as to discover, amongst her Articles of Lading, twenty-two large Jars of Copper-Money. On the following Day, They made Prizes of two more Frigates, but These proved of little Value.

On the fifteenth, the *English* sacked the Town of *Ocoa*, in *Hispaniola*, where they obtained large Quantities of Sugar, Poultry, and other Commodities. As the Inhabitants had fled to the Mountains, on the first

(i) Hackluyt. V. 2. P. 2. p. 168.

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first Discovery of the Ships, their Houses were rifled, without Danger to the Plunderers. At length, the Fugitives returned, and to preserve their Town, made an Offer (which was accepted,) of a considerable Number of Cattle, and two Waggon-Loads of Sugar. During the Pillage, Captain *Fred*, in the *Margaret*, took two *Spanish* Frigates of great Value.

On the twenty-seventh, They attacked the Town of *Yaguana*, on the *North-West* Part of *Hispaniola*, and consisting of one hundred, and fifty Houses. From hence, They were, at first, obliged to retreat, but proceeded to the Assault, during the next Night. Their Attempts were now more fortunate. They took the Place, and reduced it intirely to Ashes. At the Commencement of the Action, They were charged, with great Fury, by an hundred, and fifty of the *Portuguese* Horse. These, perceiving that their Resistance was of no Consequence, assembled two hundred Oxen, and drove Them violently towards the *English*, supposing that, by this Stratagem, They might break the Lines of the Enemy, and throw Them into Disorder. The Effect was contrary to the Hopes which had been formed of it. The Cattle turned upon their Masters, and obliged Them to decamp, with great Precipitation. In this Skirmish the *Spaniards* lost their Governor. Only two Men fell on the Side of the *English*, who, in the same Night, set Fire to, and destroyed the adjoining Village of *Aguava*.

From hence, They proceeded towards the Bay of *Honduras*, and, soon afterwards (k), took a *Spanish* Ship, within Shot of the Castle; and, then rowing, in their Boats, nearer to the Town, seized on four Frigates, and carried Them, with Impunity, to their Squadron. On the fifteenth of May, They reduced, and pillaged

Puerto

(k) May 9th.

Puerto de Cavallos, in which were two hundred Houses. Here, the chief Booty consisted of a large Quantity of Quick-Silver, Wine, Money, Linen, Silks, and Callico. In the Churches, They threw down the Bells, and destroyed the Images, but did not set Fire to the Town, as the Behaviour of the Inhabitants had been more remarkable for a prompt Submission, than a violent Resistance.

They, next, steered their Course towards *Truxillo*, and, on their Passage, gave Chace to a large Vessel, which, on Enquiry, proved to have been freighted at *Puerto de Cavallos*. The Spaniards ran her ashore, and afterwards, set Fire to Her. This, the English, with some Difficulty, extinguished, and, also, saved a Part of the Lading, consisting chiefly, of Hides, and Jars of Balsam. On the sixth of June, They arrived at *Truxillo*, and perceived a Ship, (close under the Castle), which They had the Courage to board, but were soon overpowered by Numbers, and compelled to retreat. Sailing afterwards down the Gulf of *Bahama*, They took a small Frigate on her Passage from *Cuba*, and after having reserved for their own Use, a Part of her Lading, consisting of two hundred weight of Tobacco, together with fifty-five Hogs, They permitted the six Spaniards, who were the whole Crew, to resume the Possession of the Vessel, and proceed upon their Voyage.

During their Cruizes, the English sacked four Towns, and either took, or destroyed seventeen Frigates, and two Ships. Of the Assistance which They afforded the Earl of *Cumberland*, after his Capture of a large Carrack, We shall treat in another Place. Let it suffice, for the Present, to observe that Mr. *Newport* arrived, on the seventh of *September*, with his Squadron, at *Dartmouth* (1).

On the twenty-sixth of January, in the Year, one Thousand, five hundred, and Ninety-two, the *Jane-Bo-*
naventure,

(n) Hackluyt, V. 2. P. 3. p. 567.

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naventure, and the *Solomon*, the first of the Burthen of two hundred, and the second of forty Tons, were fitted out by the Merchants, *More*, *How*, *Boreman*, and Sir *Henry Palmer*, who having manned the largest with one hundred, and the least with twenty-six Sailors, gave the Command of Them to Captain *William King*. These Ships proceeded from *Ratcliffe*, and, about the tenth of April, fell in with the Island of *Dominica*, in the *West-Indies*. Here, They took a Vessel, on Board of which, were two hundred, and seventy Negroes, from the Coast of *Guinea*. These, the English carried with Them to *Puerto Rico*.

As They proceeded through the *Passage*, They chased a Frigate which, crowding every Sail, escaped into *Puerto Rico*. At Midnight, Captain *King* directed fourteen of the Crew to enter the Harbour in a *Shallop*. These Men advanced within Musket Shot of the Castle, and in two Hours, brought out an English Ship of the Burthen of seventy Ton; and freighted with three-score Hogheads of *Canary Wine*. The two Prizes were, now conveyed by the Captors to the *Westmost* Part of the Island, where all the Negroes, excepting fifteen, were put ashore; but a Spanish Caravel, which had been taken by the *Jane-Bonaventure*, was left for their Use. Here, the English set Fire to one of the Prizes, and stood out to Sea, with the other.

They, next, watered at the Isle of *Mona*, and procured a Quantity of Plantains, and Potatoes. From hence, They sailed to the Island of *Saona*, and, at length, reached to the Mouth of the River of *Santo Domingo*. Three Leagues to the Westward of this Place, and, on their Passage to *Capo Tiburon*, they took a Boat laden with Molosses.

Orders were now given for twelve Men to enter the Shallop, and keep along the Southern Coast of *Jamaica*.

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After a short Time, They returned, and without Success. They, next, made the Circuit of the three Islands of *Caimanes*, and disembarked at the *Grand Caiman*, which lies to the *Westward*, and, at that Period, was uninhabited. There, They caught sixty exceedingly large Turtles, on which the Crew subsisted for several Days.

From *Caiman* the *English* sailed to *Cape Corrientes*; from thence to *Cape Saint Antonio*; and, afterwards, to the *Tortugas*, but were not so fortunate as to obtain a Prize. At their next Port, *Rio de Puercos*, on the Coast of *Cuba*, They took a small Bark, of the Burthen of twenty Tons, and manned with four Sailors. In this Vessel, They found forty live Hogs, a Quantity of dried Pork, and Neats Tongues, and twenty Hides of Oxen. In four Days afterwards, and to the North of a Headland called *Corugna*, They made a Prize of a Ship, of the Burthen of eighty Tons, and freighted with Skins, Indigo, and Salsaparilla. The Current, now drove Them *Eastward*, to the *Old Channel*, where They took a Frigate laden with Broad-Cloth and other less valuable Articles.

In the Month of May, the *English* reached the *Havannah*, near to which They took two Boats, full of Tortoises. These were reserved for Provisions, but the Boats were sunk; after the Men belonging to them had been sent ashore. When the *English* approached nearer to the Forts of the *Havannah*, They were exposed during a full Hour, to the Fire of the *Spaniards*. When the Cannonading ceased, two Gallies of twenty seven Banks of Oars each, proceeded from the Harbour, and engaged the *English*, for some Time. At length, the Breeze freshened, and the Gallies rowed towards the Shore.

From the *Havannah*, the *English* proceeded nine
Leagues

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Leagues to the *Westward*, where they discovered an excellent Harbour, capable of receiving a thousand Sail of Ships, and, adjoining to which, They procured a large Quantity of Hogs and other live Stock. On their return, they were becalmed, and again chased by the Gallies, which had long before rowed after them; but slowly, and at a Distance. As the *Spaniards* came abreast of the Ships, they discharged a Volley of Small-Arms, when the *English* returned the Fire, and, after a severe Conflict, obliged the Gallies to retreat, considerably damaged.

On the fourth Day from this Action, and six Leagues to the *Northward* of the last Harbour They joined eleven *English* Ships, in the Service of different Adventurers. Shortly afterwards, a Vessel of about the Burthen of fifty Tons appeared in Sight, and was chased by the Boats of the whole Squadron. That belonging to Captain *King* had the good Fortune to board and take Her. The Crew had escaped to Land, but the Freight consisting of Wine and Oil, was secured, and, then, the *English* set Fire to the Prize. This Fleet of Adventurers, which now, amounted to thirteen Sail, proceeded to the *Havannah*. On their Passage, They descried a Ship of the Burthen of sixty Tons, which entered an adjoining Harbour, at the Distance of a League to the *North-West*. When They came abreast of Her, She struck, and proved to be a Vessel belonging to *Puerto de Cavallos*, in the Bay of *Honduras*, and laden with tanned and raw Hides, Salsaparilla, Indigo, and a large Quantity of Balsam. Four Chests of Gold had, also, been on Board, but these the *Spaniards* found Means to convey ashore, previous to their being taken. The *English* cruized a Week longer in Search of Prizes, but not being successful,

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cessful,

cessful, sailed homewards with their last Capture, and, on the tenth of November, arrived at *Dover* (m).

On the twenty-sixth of July in the Year one Thousand five Hundred, and Ninety-two, *Thomas White*, a *Londoner*, and Captain of the *Amity*, during his Voyage from *Barbary*, and at the Height of thirty-six Degrees, descried at four in the Morning, two Ships, which were then distant from Him nearly three Leagues. At seven He came up with them, and observing that They were within a Cable Length of each other, discharged a Broadside which the Enemy immediately returned. The Battle lasted with great Fury, during the Space of five Hours, and the *Amity* received in her Hull, Masts, and through her Sails, thirty-five Cannon-Balls, and more than five hundred Harquebusses and Musket Shot.

From the Damage which his Vessel had received, Captain *White* discerned that it was impossible to subdue the *Spaniards* unless he bravely boarded Them. He therefore, fell close along Side of a *Biscayan* Vessel, then lying a-head of her Consort, and rushing, with several of his Crew upon the Deck, attacked the Enemy, during a full Hour, at the Close of which, They cried out for Quarter, and ran below the Hatch-ways. The Rest of the *English* were engaged in the same Manner against the *Spaniards* belonging to the other Ship, who defended themselves with great Perseverance, and Intrepidity, but lost such Numbers that their Assailants could perceive the Blood issuing in Streams from the Scupper-Holes. Both the Vessels now struck, and *White*, having ordered the Captains, and Masters to come on Board of his Ship, sent some of his Men to take Possession of the Prizes. The Prisoners were in Number twenty-six; and eight *Spaniards* lay dead upon the Decks. How

(m) Hackluyt, V. 2. P. 3. p. 570.

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many had perished, and been thrown into the Ocean could not be discovered from any Confession of the Survivors. The Crew of the *Amity* consisted at first of forty-two Men, and a Boy. Amongst These, only two were killed and three wounded.

The *Spanish* Vessels were laden with fourteen hundred Chests of Quick-Silver, an hundred Tons of Wine, and an immense Quantity of *Bulls* for Indulgences. By the Loss of the Quick-Silver, the King of *Spain* was deprived of six hundred thousand Pounds, the Amount of what he would have received from the Masters of the Mines in *America*, in the Proportion of an hundred Weight of Silver, for the same Quantity of Quick-Silver. When the *English* seized the *Bulls*, which were Commodities useless to themselves, the Losses of *Philip* became excessive. They had cost Him three hundred thousand Florins, and would have been sold in the *Indies* for five Millions (n).

In May, of the same Year, a Patent (which is still extant amongst the Rolls,) was granted for the Space of ten Years, to *Thomas Gregory*, of *Taunton*, in the County of *Somerset*, *Thomas Pope*, and other Merchants, who were impowered to trade to *Guinea*, from the Northernmost Part of the River of *Nonia*, to the Southernmost Parts of the Rivers of *Madrabumba*, and *Sierra Leona*, and to other Places as well to the *South-East*, as to the *North-West*, including an Extent of near an hundred Leagues (o). At the same Period *Elizabeth* conferred a Second, and more ample Charter on the *Turkey* Company (p).

On the first of June, in the Year one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety-three, the *Marygold* of *Lon-*

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(n) Hackluyt, V. 2. P. 2. p. 193.

(o) Hackluyt. V. 2. P. 2. p. 193.

(p) Ibid.

don, of the Burthen of seventy Tons, and carrying twenty Men, of which ten were Mariners, and the Rest Coopers, and Butchers, sailed from *Falmouth*, under the Command of *Richard Strang*, of *Apsbam*, and in Company with another Ship, belonging to *George Drake*, of the same Place. Their Destination was to the Island of *Ramea*, (called by the Savages of the adjoining Continent, *Menquit*,) within the Streights of *Saint Peter*, on the Back of *Newfoundland*, and to the *South-West*, in the Latitude of forty-seven Degrees. On the Shores of this Island, and chiefly, in *April*, *May* and *June*, are Multitudes of amphibious Creatures, called *Vacca Marina*, or *Morfes*, the two large Teeth of which, (resembling Ivory,) and their Oil have been considered as valuable Articles of Commerce. The proper Season for catching these Animals was almost expired before the Departure of the Ships from *England*; and the Last were separated on their Voyage to *Newfoundland*, nor did they join again.

The Vessel commanded by Captain *Drake* arrived the first at *Newfoundland*, and sailed immediately from thence to the Isle of *Ramea*, where a Ship belonging to the Inhabitants of *Saint Malo* was lying at Anchor, and almost full freighted with *Morfes*. On the Approach of the *English*, She slipped her Cables, and stood out to Sea, leaving behind three Shallops, and twenty-two Men. These, together with some *Morfes*, were taken by *Drake*.

On the eleventh of July, the *Marygold* reached *Cape Francis*, in *Newfoundland*, from thence, proceeded to the Bay called *Rogneuse*, then doubled *Cape-Razo*, and sailed towards the Bay of *Saint Peter*. To this Place, as the Crew were at a Loss which Course to steer, She missed her Passage, and, at length, fell in with *Cape Breton*. Here, the *English* disembarked, and
saw

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saw several of the Natives, but did not engage with Them in Commerce. They next bore away to the *South-Westward* of *Cape-Breton*, and, at the Distance of nearly sixty Leagues, observed great Numbers of Seals, and Porpoises of which They killed Eleven. They, also, discovered several Whales of an enormous Size.

From the Time of her Arrival at *Saint Francis*, the *Marygold* hovered near the Coast of *Arambec* for the Space of eleven Weeks. After this Period, the Captain yielding to the Persuasions of the Master and his Associates, consented to return Home by the Isles of the *Azores*, and first, reached *Carvo* and *Florez*. From hence as They could find no Prizes, the whole Crew agreed to sail by *Tercera*, and on their Arrival at *Saint Michael* fell in with a *Portuguese* Ship, which They resolutely boarded, but were driven back with some Loss. Their Provisions were now just expended, and, on that Account, they hastened to *England*, and, in the Middle of *December*, returned to *Falmouth* (g).

On the fourth of April, in the Year one Thousand five Hundred, and Ninety-four, *Rice Jones*, sailed from *Bristol* to the *Gulph* of *Saint Lawrence*, in a small Bark, of the Burthen of thirty-five Tons. On the nineteenth of May, He fell in with *Cape D'Espere*, on the Coast of *Newfoundland*, in the Height of forty-seven Degrees. On the twentieth, He stood athwart of *Cape Raz*, from whence he steered his Course *North-West* for *Cape Saint Mary*, on the Eastern Side of the great Bay of *Placentia*.

From thence, He proceeded to the Islands of *Saint Pedro*, and entering the Harbour, found two Vessels of *Sibiburo*, fishing for Cod. Having remained at this

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Place,

(g) Hackluyt. V. 2. Part 3. p. 191.

Place, during two Days, and ballasted his Ship, He sailed beyond the Mouth of the Harbour, where laying her upon the Lee, the Crew in less than two Hours, caught with their Hooks, three hundred Cod, which served as their Provision. From thence, Captain Jones sailed to the *Gulph of Saint Lawrence*, between Cape Breton, and the Islands of *Saint Pedro*.

On their Arrival within the Bay of *Saint George*, the *English* discovered the Wrecks of two *Biscayan* Ships, out of which They took seven hundred Whale-Fins, and some Iron Bolts, and Chains belonging to the Main, and Fore-Shrouds. Having remained ten days in the Bay, and being informed that Whales wounded, but not taken there, were accustomed to shoot themselves a-shore, on the Isle of *Assumption*, or *Natiscotee*, at the Mouth of the great river which runs up to *Canada*, They shaped their Course thither, and reached it in the Middle of June. It soon appeared that their Information was groundless: They, therefore, returned to the Bay of *Placentia*, and were employed, with great Success, in fishing for Cod: At length They departed towards *England*, and, on the twenty-fourth of September, arrived at *Bristol* (r).

On the twelfth of March, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety-five, the Captains *Amias Preston*, and *George Sommers*, in the *Ascension*, and the *Gift*, attended by a small Pinnace, set sail from *Plymouth*, and on the nineteenth of the same Month, were followed by the Captains *Jones*, and *Prowse*, in the *Darling*, and the *Angel*. On the thirty-first, *Preston*, being in the Chace of a Ship, was separated from the Fleet, and, with only sixty Men, gallantly attacked, and plundered the Island of *Puerto-Santa*, near *Maderia*, vanquished five hundred *Portuguese* Soldiers, and

(r) Hackluyt, V. 2. Part 3. p. 194.

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and reduced the chief Town of the Island, and several Villages to Ashes. Previous to the Entrance of the *English* within the Place, the *Portuguese* had conveyed away their Wives, Children, and most valuable Effects to the Summit of a steep Hill which overlooked the Town, and could not be attempted without great Danger. They sent frequently to offer a considerable Ransom for the Town; but *Preston*, eager to take Vengeance on Them for their former Treachery, and Barbarity to Captain *Harvey*, and his Associates, renewed his Ravages, nor once listened to their Intercessions.

Having safely re-embarked his Men, He set Sail, and, on the twelfth of April, rejoined the Fleet. In the Evening of the nineteenth of May, the *English* descried a little-Island, between the Pearl Fishery, at *Margarita*, and the Main called *Cauhe*. Here, They landed, and, after having made some *Spaniards*, and *Indians* Prisoners, seized on all their Effects, amongst which the most valuable were Pearls. On the twenty-first, They proceeded to *Cumana*, which was ransomed by the Inhabitants. In the Bay, they took three Caravals, and their Long-Boat, but all these were poorly freighted. On the twenty-seventh, they landed at a Fort, adjoining to the Sea Side, which surrendered on the first Summons. The Governor, of whom They inquired concerning the Strength of the City of *Saint Jago de Leon*, informed them that every Preparation had been made by the Inhabitants to oppose the *English*, of whose intended Enterprize They had received the earliest Notice; that it might be approached by two Ways, the one, the common Road, in which the Path, only thirty Feet in Breadth, was flanked with steep Precipices, covered with thick Woods, and strongly fortified by Art. The other Avenue, (used by the *Indians*,) of itself extremely steep, was rendered almost

impassable by Timber which had been felled, and cast, with other Obstacles across it. Along this Road, the *English* marched, in Company with a *Spaniard* who, on being promised his Liberty, not only assisted as a Guide, but procured Carpenters to hew a Passage through the Woods, and clear away the scattered Trunks, and Branches. After the most disheartening Progress, during which several of the Men threw Themselves, in the Agonies of Fatigue, and Despair, upon the Ground, intreating their Officers rather to shoot Them, than compel Them to go forwards, They, on the twenty-ninth of May, arrived at *Saint Jago de Leon*, and took Possession of it after a short, and feeble Resistance from the *Spaniards*, who, dreading an Attack had concealed their Treasures in the Mountains. The *English* remained at this Place, until the third of June, and at a Conference with the *Spaniards* concerning a Ransom, demanded thirty thousand Ducats. They, with Difficulty, obtained four, and suspecting that some Troops were marching to oppose them, burnt the Town, the adjacent Villages, and the Forts on the Sea Coast. Having thus spread Horror, and Desolation around the Country, They retired to their Ships, without the Loss of a single Man.

On the fifth, They sailed to the small Town of *Coror*. On their Passage thither, They set Fire to three *Spanish* Vessels, which They could not carry off, as the Crews had secreted the Rigging ashore. On the ninth, They entered the Bay, attacked the Town, and reduced it, after a short Engagement. Here, also, the Inhabitants concealed their Effects, and their Assailants in Revenge, reduced *Coror* to Ashes. On the Day following, the *English* embarked, and, after an Absence of nearly six Months, arrived in September at *Milford-Haven* (1).
In

(1) Hackluyt, V. 2. Part 3. p. 578.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety-six, a Report was circulated that the King of Spain had again entered into formidable Preparations for the Invasion of England. As a Prelude to greater Hostilities, the Spaniards, under the Command of Don Diego Brochero had landed (1), from four Gallies, at Mount's Bay in Cornwall, and reduced to Ashes the little Villages of Mouse-Hole, Newlin, and Penzance. Their Depredations were attended with this remarkable Circumstance, that during the Course of Them, not a single Inhabitant was either slain, or taken Prisoner (2). This Event, although not particularly fatal in its Consequences, had spread a general Alarm throughout the Kingdom, and Elizabeth, to appease the Fears, and gratify the Wishes of her Subjects, embraced the surest Methods to frustrate the Designs of Philip, by carrying the War into his own Ports, and destroying his Navy, before it could be ready to proceed to Action.

The great Object in View was the Destruction of the Spanish Fleet, within the Harbour of Cadiz, and the Conquest of that City. The Number of Persons serving on this Enterprize, amounted to more than seven thousand. One hundred, and fifty Ships were divided into four Squadrons, whereof the first was commanded by the Lord High Admiral Howard; the second, by the Earl of Essex; the third, by the Lord Thomas Howard, and the fourth by Sir Walter Raleigh. The Officers of the Army (in which the Lord Admiral, and the Earl of Essex acted jointly as Generals), were Sir Francis Vere, Lord Marshal, Sir John Wingfield,

(1) 1595.

(2) Camden. V. 3. p. 697.—Carew's Survey of Cornwall. Fol. 115.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 487.

field, Camp Master General, Sir Conyers Clifford, Sergeant Major, and Sir George Carey, Master of the Ordnance. The Colonels were Robert Earl of Suffex, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Richard Wingfield, and Sir Edward Wingfield, Captain of the Volunteers. Edward Asbley, was, also, appointed Secretary at War; with Orders to keep a Register of Councils, and of the Arguments used by the Members, but, particularly, to record the several Actions, and Attempts that should be formed (x).

As an accurate naval Writer (y) hath produced a List of fourteen of the Queen's Ships, employed in this Expedition, We shall insert it,

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.
THE Repulse,	The Earl of Essex, and Captain under Him, Sir William Monson.
Ark-Royal,	The Lord High Admiral, and Captain under Him, Sir Amias Preston.
Mary Honora (z),	The Lord Thomas Howard,
Warspight,	Sir Walter Raleigh.
Lin.	Sir Robert Southwell.
Rainbow.	Sir Francis Vere.
Nonpareil,	Sir Robert Dudley.
Vanguard.	Sir John Wingfield,
Mary-Rose,	Sir George Carey.
Dreadnought.	Sir Alexander Clifford.
Swiftsure,	Sir Robert Croft.

Acquit-

(x) Purchas. V. 4. P. 1927.—Hackluyt. V. 2. P. 1. p. 607.—Append. to Harris's Col.—Columna Rostrata.—Camden.—Stowe. p. 771.—Speed. p. 868.—Vere's Commentaries, p. 24.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 1. p. 487.

(y) Sir William Monson's Account of the Wars with Spata, in the Reign of Elizabeth. P. 28.

(z) Mere Honour.

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Acquittance. Sir Robert Mansfield (a).
Crane. Captain King.
Tramontana.

We shall now present our Reader with some original Pieces (collected by an indefatigable Writer (b)), which will not only explain the Design of this Expedition, but account for Transactions with which it is connected.

COTTON LIBRARY, Otho. E. IX.

----- of the INSTRUCTIONS -----
(c) Earl of ESSEX, and the L--- ADMIRAL, under my Lord TREASURER's own Hand-writing.

Instructions of the Earl of ESSEX, and Lord HOWARD, Lord Admiral of ENGLAND, how to use themselves, for Execution of the Commission given to Them from Her Majesty, by Her Letters Patent dated the --- of ---

"FIRST, You both are to remember, that Our
"first Intention for making ready of Our Navy,
"to be set to the Seas, was upon common Report
"made, that the King of Spain had made, and was
"in making ready a greater Navy to come to the Seas,
"than was made in 88, and that the same Navy should
"be come to Our Seas, to invade Our Realm of Eng-
"land,

(a) Sir George Gifford.

(b) Lediard's Naval History. Folio. V. i. p. 320.

(c) THESE, and the other Blanks, which the Reader will find, in this, and the following Pieces, are so damaged in the Manuscript, that they are not legible. I have altered the Orthography; But, for the Words and Stile, have left them as they were, excepting the Change in a few Places, where I thought it absolutely necessary for the Sake of Perspicuity.

"land, and with Part thereof to give Aid to Our Rebels in *Ireland*.

"BUT afterwards, hearing, that the Preparation made by the said King was not so great, as was before reported, and yet of that Number that were so prepared, a good Number was sent to pursue Sir Francis Drake, and some others were sent to the *Indies*, whereby We had no probable cause to doubt the coming of any great Navy to attempt any Invasion of Our Realm, and yet had Cause to doubt some Number of Ships to be sent with Men, and Money, into *Ireland*, about the Month of May, which was the Time that the Rebels Tyr-Oon and Odonnel, did, by their Letters to *Spain*, limit, to be aided, and not before; And farther considering, that the Stay thereof was most certainly to be made by Burning of the King's Ships of War in His Havens, before They should come forth to the Seas, and therewith also destroying his Magazines of Victuals, and his Munitions for the Arming of his Navy, so as neither the Rebels in *Ireland*, should be aided, and strengthened, nor yet the Navy of *Spain* be able, by Reason of the Burning of some good Number of the King's Ships, and by the Destruction of the great Provisions, without which He should not be able, of long Time to repair unto, and to have any great Navy in Readiness to offend Us, We did, upon the Motion of You two, in offering your Service in this Purpose, and finding the Opinion of the Rest of Our Council to allow of Our Preparations of Our Navy, with the Assistance of sundry Ships of Our Subjects, and that the general Charge should be given to You two jointly for the Service herewith, both by Sea, and Land, We have therewith given You Our

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given You Our
" Com-

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" Commission, for these Services, both by Sea, and
" by Land, not without Our Grief for adventuring of
" your Persons, and for Want also of your Attendance
" on Us, as principal Counsellors; And, therefore,
" We do now think it convenient, not only in this
" Sort to remember You of the Beginning, and Pro-
" ceedings herein, by Us; But also to inform You,
" by Way of Instructions of Our Pleasure, in what
" Sort, and to what Ends, You shall direct your
" Actions.

" FIRST, You shall, by all good Means seek to
" understand the Truth of the King's Navy, of what
" Number and Strength His Ships are, in what Ports
" they are, what Provisions are in Readiness to furnish
" his Navy, and therewith also to seek to understand;
" whether there be any Intention now this Summer, to
" set his Navy to the Seas, for invading any Part of
" Our Realm, or that any Number of Them are in-
" tended to be sent to *Ireland*, or to come by the
" narrow Seas to *Calais*, there, with other Shipping
" of *Flanders*, and with the Forces under the Com-
" mand of the Cardinal of *Austria*, to attempt some
" hostile Action against Our Coasts of *England*, oppo-
" site to *Calais* and *Flanders*.

" IN the searching to come to the Knowledge here-
" of, We advise you, not to give sudden Credit to
" single Reports, but circumspectly to compare your
" Intelligences together, and to admit such as You shall
" find, either very certain, or most agreeable to
" Truth.

" AND hereupon You shall direct your first Actions
" to destroy such Ships, as You shall understand to be
" provided, to repair to *Ireland*, or to come by the nar-
" row Seas to *Calais*.

" AND, if you cannot understand of any such par-
" ticular Purposes, of any Navy prepared to be sent to
" *Ireland*

" *Ireland or Calais*, You shall direct your Course to
" such Ports, where You shall most probably under-
" stand what the greater Number of the King's Ships
" of War are, and where his Provisions are in Store,
" and there You shall use all good Means possible, to
" spoil and burn all the said Ships, that are for Fo-
" reign Service, or as many of them as conveniently
" You may; And also, You shall destroy, or get in-
" to your Possession, to Our Use, as many of the
" Victuals, Powder, Ordnance, Cordage, and all other
" Apparellings for War, as You can: And yet, in
" these your Actions, You shall avoid the manifest Dan-
" ger to Our own Ships, or to the hazarding of Our
" People, in any desperate Actions, to lose their Lives,
" that should be spared rather for our Service, in Times
" of Defence of their native Country, than by attempt-
" ing, in desperate and doubtful Actions of Offence,
" in a strange Country, to spend their Lives, with-
" out any Publick Benefit, answerable to such Loss;
" Of which Our Admonition, We hope You will
" have the more Regard, You well knowing how loth
" We are to have our Subjects wasted, or hazarded in
" any Foreign Actions.

" AND if You shall have the Good Fortune so to
" destroy the said Ships, and the Staples and Magazines
" of the Naval Provisions, in any Port, which We
" charge You shall be first attempted, before any other
" Service, except such as We Charge you shall be for
" your own Defence, and that the said Destruction of
" Ships shall be, where any Town is belonging to any
" such Port that hath great Riches, and that You shall
" probably understand that the said Town is not able
" to defend itself against You, and that the Riches
" thereof is not wholly carried away into the Inlands,
" where You cannot recover the same, in such Case,
" you

“ you may attempt the taking of such a Town, and possess yourself of the Riches thereof, so as such Attempt may first by good Deliberation of Counsel, be found sperable to be achieved, without hazarding either of your own Lives, or the Lives of Our Subjects, serving under You; For otherwise We charge You both, jointly and severally, not to attempt any such doubtful Action, in Hopes of Gain, to the manifest Danger of the Lives of Our Subjects. And, in the Execution thereof—You shall take Order that no Slaughter be made of any People, except they shall, with Force, withstand You, and put Our Subjects Lives in manifest Danger. But absolutely We forbid the Slaughter of any Women, Children, and aged Men, not able to bear Arms.

“ And for the Riches that may be there found, You shall give also strict Order, to have as much saved as possible may be, toward some Recompence of the great Charges sustained, both by Us, and by yourselves, and sundry of your Company, whom We think worthy to be remembered in convenient Measure, according to their Charges. For which Purpose, We will, that you authorize under your Hand in Writing—

“ to take the Care, and Charge to enquire, by all good Means that You may give them, what Goods of any Value shall be by any that shall serve in this Voyage, taken, either upon the Seas, or in any Port, or any Magazine, or in any Port-Town, that you shall enter into, and of the same to make due Registers in Writing, containing the Nature of the Goods taken, the Names of the Takers, the Time, Person and Place, where the same was taken, and upon Knowledge thereof, the said

“ shall

“ shall take into their Custody the same Goods, or
 “ commit such of the same as shall be of any Bulk to
 “ be securely kept, in such Ships, as by your Dis-
 “ cretion shall be therefore appointed, so as hereby also
 “ the Takers may be therewith rewarded, as Reason
 “ shall require.

“ Now, for the better, and more orderly Execution
 “ of this your Commission, and of these former Ar-
 “ ticles, comprised in these our Instructions, We do
 “ ordain, that there shall be two Persons, serving for
 “ the Seas, and two that are appointed to serve with
 “ the Forces for Land Service, to be as Counsellors
 “ to you in Our Name, that is, the Lord *Thomas*
 “ *Howard* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and Sir *Fra. Vere*,
 “ and Sir *Coniers Clifford*; And to these four, We do
 “ add Sir *George Carew*, Lieutenant of Our Ordnance,
 “ to make the Number of five, whom also We charge,
 “ by these Presents, that they will, as They will answer
 “ before GOD, give their Counsels to You both, with-
 “ out any private Respect to either of You, for Love
 “ or Fear in all Actions, to be put in Question, or
 “ taken in Hand, and the same deliberately to debate,
 “ as the Weight of the Matter shall require, before
 “ that any Resolution be made, and before the putting
 “ of the Matter in Action.”

“ AND if You, the two *Generals*, shall differ in
 “ your several Opinions, and that the more Part of the
 “ aforesaid five Counsellours shall assent to the Opi-
 “ nion of any one of You, then, We shall allow to
 “ have that Opinion followed by the others, as by Ad-
 “ vice found most probable.

“ AND if such of You two, or five, as shall dissent
 “ from the same, notwithstanding the Opinion of the
 “ more Part, shall not by Persuasion be moved to con-
 “ sent thereto, and yet shall have any two of the said
 “ Counsellours

OF

same Goods, or
of any Bulk to
as by your Dis-
so as hereby also
arded, as Reason

orderly Execution
these former Ar-
guments, We do
sons, serving for
ed to serve with
be as Counsellors
the Lord *Thomas*
and Sir *Fra. Vere*,
these four, We do
of Our Ordnance,
also We charge,
They will answer
You both, with-
of You, for Love
in Question, or
berately to debate,
all require, before
before the putting

als, shall differ in
more Part of the
tent to the Opi-
We shall allow to
others, as by Ad-

ive, as shall dissent
the Opinion of the
be moved to con-
ny two of the said
" Counsellours

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" Counsellors concur with Him, if th--- shall be exe-
" cuted with any Number of Our Subjects, with
" Force of Arms, whereby their Lives may be in
" Danger, then, considering the Doubtfulness in the
" Deliberation, We think it good rather to forbear,
" in Favour of Our Subjects Lives, from the Action,
" except by forbearing thereof any manifest Danger
" may ensue.

" Of all which Our Advices, We charge You, Our
" two Generals, to have dutiful Regard, and without
" most manifest Cause, not to dissent betwixt Your-
" selves, nor in your Dissention to labour with any of
" the aforesaid Counsellors, by Way of Factions, to
" assist You in your partial Opinions.

" AND to the Intent We may be satisfied of your
" Proceedings, in the Voyage, from Time to Time,
" and of your Manner of Deliberations, and Resolu-
" tions, and of your Actions thereupon taken in Hand,
" and the Success thereof, We have appointed our
" Servant, *Anthony Aspley*, one of the Clerks of our
" Privy Council, to attend upon You, to keep a Re-
" gister of your Voyage, and of all your Consultations,
" and Actions, and of your Concurrences in Opi-
" nions, or your Differences, with the Causes thereof,
" whom We require You to allow in so doing, and to
" comfort Him with your Countenance in that Ser-
" vice.

" AND yet, nevertheless, tho' We have appointed
" the foresaid five to be Counsellors to You, and that
" the Causes may be of such difficulty, as both your-
" selves, and the said Counsellors may think it good,
" for farther Advice, to have the Opinion of some
" more Persons, now having Charge with You,
" We think it reasonable, that either of You two
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“ the Generals, shall make Choice and call to your
 “ Consultation, two, three, four, or more of Others, as
 “ You shall think good, either of You in that Choice
 “ calling an equal Number, for more Indifferency,
 “ and so to make some final Resolution.

“ If, after this Service done, in destroying of the
 “ King’s Ships, and of his Staples of Provisions, You
 “ shall hear of the likelihood of the Coming from the
 “ Indies of any of the King’s Carracks, laden with
 “ Riches, You shall send away as many of the Ships
 “ and Men, as You shall not have need of, to be used
 “ to the taking of such Carracks, which We must leave
 “ to your Consideration, not doubting but You will
 “ think it convenient, not to continue the Charge
 “ thereof longer than shall be needful.

A COPY of Her MAJESTY’S Letter to the two Lords
 GENERALS, with her own Hand (d)

“ **T**HO’ all the careful Heed that can be poured
 “ on one, and Thoughts full bent to save from
 “ Ill, that may befall in the scorning all good Hopes, and
 “ treading on all Charge, be not enough to graceless
 “ Thankfulness to yield but *gratias* for such uncouched,
 “ yea unheard of Goodness: I cannot but wonder how
 “ Our Soil ever brought forth such Fruit, and could
 “ not (till now) have believed to find such *Guerdon* for
 “ such Meat, but *passi graviora*, which no sober Si-
 “ lence may be thought, tho’ not imputed, yet for all
 “ this, to verify that our Revenge is so likened to
 “ earthly Gods who shew more Benignity than They
 “ find Cause, I make this humble Bill of Request to
 “ Him that all makes, and does, that with his benign
 “ Hand, He will shadow You so, as all Harm may
 “ light beside You, and all that may be best, hap to
 “ your

(d) These, and the following Letters are left Word for
 Word, as They are in the Originals.

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" your Share, that your Return may make You bet-
 " ter, and Me gladder. Let your Companion, my
 " most faithful *Charles*, be sure, that his Name is not
 " left out in this Petition. God bless You both, as I
 " would be, if I were there : which whether I wish or
 " not, He alone doth know.

A COPY of Her MAJESTY's Letter to the Lords GE-
 NERALS; May 21. 1596.

" WE find your Letter very strange to Us, consi-
 " dering the Mind wherewith You may per-
 " ceive Ours was written, for We find You wrest
 " Things to your own Evasions, and keep up Argu-
 " ments made of common Places of Doubts, and Fears,
 " (by indifferent Judgments not partial to their own
 " Passions) as easily answered as made. You mention
 " first a Danger to commit Authority to any other,
 " because You are referred to your Commission, and In-
 " structions, formerly sent You, which hath no Power
 " of Deputation : As who should say, that if You did
 " follow the Directions of Our Hand, Our great Seal,
 " in this Matter, should be brought to dispute the Va-
 " lidity of your Warrant. We could not then send
 " You a Broad Seal in Post. But while You had con-
 " sidered, and digested Our Army in such Form as
 " You had liked, it should have been guided : Then,
 " if You had advertized Us *simplicit* only, that You
 " must have better Warrant for it, You should not
 " have wanted it, and We should then have thought
 " that which You Use now as so substantial a Reason,
 " not to be only a Formality, as now We hold it, and
 " all your Arguments discover it. For that other ma-
 " terial Reason which You insist, that You must use
 " Swords to compel Them, Our Letter answered it,

Z 2

" We

“ We hope ; That for the Gentlemen that would go
“ willingly, and that do go out (of voluntary Spirits)
“ to accompany You, You might use your Discretions.
“ And for the Rest that would tarry, You might, of
“ Our Monies, pay Them. And for the Payment
“ returning, We trust They would as soon have taken
“ Our Assurance, as yours. So as They that are defi-
“ rous to go on the Action of the meanest, for their
“ own Particular, need not be deprived of their Hopes,
“ if They will follow it, and the rest have *nullum Ar-*
“ *bitrium*, which was surely a great Oppression of Sub-
“ jects, and the Trust reposed in You, with the As-
“ surance of princely Consideration, were great Max-
“ ims to the Reputation. or Despair to the Minds of
“ You the Commanders. But We see it now in vain
“ to reason against prejudicate Thoughts, and to com-
“ mand We will not. For, if We had meant to have
“ done any Thing so abruptly, without Caution, or
“ without almost to seek your own Opinions, and to
“ descend always to Conditions, to satisfy You, We
“ could long ere this have directly untied this Knot
“ made by You so intricate : And this We farther
“ will say to You that tho’ We meant to drive it to
“ the last Considerations, and uttermost Debates, as
“ much as could be, yet We compared Times so suffi-
“ ciently, as a Prince that knows what belongs to such
“ a Matter, that nothing should be done to retard You
“ (being ready) one Hour. For as We know *Raleigh*
“ not to be arrived, so We know, after it some Time
“ to embark such an Army must be required. And,
“ therefore, seeing no Harm is done by Us, and that
“ all Our Injury to You hath been to overtender You,
“ We will now leave You to God’s Providence, and
“ wish You all Happiness, concluding with *David*,
“ *Liberavi Animam meam*. We do also, now that
“ You

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" You have Our Liberty to depart (seeing that We cannot otherwise persuade You) require You to make known to Our Army, how dearly We wish Them the Favour of ALMIGHTY GOD, as sent by that Prince whose Trust is in his Providence, and whose precious Care for their Preservation is beyond Our Tongue to utter.

" BUT for your Mutinies, or such Disobediences feared, We, that make Armies know that We can dissolve Them, at our Pleasure; And tho' not without Charge, and some Difficulty, yet far from such Extremities. We do require You to commend Us to Our new Vice-Admiral, whom We wish as good, and happy Fortune as we rely, and trust in his Honesty, and Sufficiency, for all Things that are, or shall be committed to his Charge by Ourselves, or You under Us. We require You also to commend Us kindly to our Cousin of *Suffex*, whose Desire to make Himself able to do Us Service doth deserve no small Favour, and therefore We must require all You to take Care of his well doing. 21 of May, 1596.

To these Instructions, and Letters, from Her Majesty to the Lords Generals, it may not be improper to add the Instructions, and Articles, enjoined by Them, to the Officers under their Command, as I find Them in the same Manuscript, and shall insert Them, Word for Word.

" INSTRUCTIONS, and ARTICLES set down by us Robert Earl of *Essex*, and Charles Lord Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, Generals of Her Majesty's Forces, employed in this Action, both by Sea, and Land, to be observed by every Captain, and chief Officer of the Navy, as They will answer it at their Perils; And that every Ship's Company may not be

" ignorant thereof, We do hereby freightly charge,
 " and command all Captains to give Order, that, at
 " Service Time they may be openly read, twice
 " every Week.

I. " IMPRIMIS, that You take special Care to serve
 " GOD, by using of Common Prayers, twice every
 " Day, except urgent Cause enforce the Contrary, and
 " that no Man, Soldier, or other Mariner do dispute
 " of Matters of Religion, unless it be to be resolved of
 " some Doubts, and, in such case, that He confer
 " with the Ministers of the Army: For it is not fit
 " that unlearned Men should openly argue of so high,
 " and mystical Matters. And if any Person shall for-
 " get Himself, and his Duty herein, He shall, upon
 " Knowledge thereof, receive open Punishment, to his
 " Shame, and after be banished the Army. And if
 " any shall hear it, and not reveal it to Us, Generals,
 " or to his Captain, or some other especial Officers,
 " whereby the Knowledge thereof may come to Us,
 " the Generals, He shall, likewise, receive Punish-
 " ment, and be banished the Army.

II. " ITEM, You shall forbid Swearing, Brawling,
 " Dicing, and such like Disorders, as may breed Con-
 " tention, and Disorders in your Ships, wherein you
 " shall also avoid God's Displeasure, and win his Fa-
 " vour.

III. " PICKING, and Stealing You shall severely pu-
 " nish, and if the Fault be great, You shall acquaint
 " Us, Generals, therewith, that martial Law may be
 " inflicted upon the Offenders.

IV. " You shall take Care to preserve your Vic-
 " tuals, and to observe such orders therein, as You
 " shall receive by particular Directions from your Ge-
 " nerals. And that every Captain of each Ship re-
 " ceive an Account once a Week how his Victuals are
 " spent,

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" spent, and what remains, that their Provision may
 " be lengthened by adding more Men to a Mess, in
 " Time.

V. " ALL Persons whatsoever, within your Ship,
 " shall come to the ordinary Services of the Ship, with-
 " out Contradiction.

VI. " You shall give special charge for avoiding the
 " Danger of Fire, and that no Candle be carried in
 " your Ship without a Lanthorn; Which if any Person
 " shall disobey, You shall severely punish. And if
 " any Chance of Fire, or other Dangers (which God
 " forbid,) should happen to any Ship, near unto You,
 " then You shall by your Boats, and all others your
 " best Means, seek to help, and relieve Her.

VII. " YOUR Powder You shall carefully preserve,
 " from Spoil, and Waste, without which We cannot
 " undertake any great Service.

VIII. " You shall give Order, that your Ship may
 " be kept clean, daily, and sometimes washed, which
 " (with God's Favour) shall preserve from Sickness,
 " and avoid many other Inconveniencies.

IX. " You shall give order, and especial Charge,
 " that your Top-masts be favoured, and the Heads of
 " your Masts, and that you have Care not to bear too
 " high Sail, when your Ships go by the Wind, and
 " especially in a Head-Sea; for the Spoil of our
 " Masts may greatly hinder Us, and endanger the
 " Enterprizes, which otherwise (with God's Help)
 " We should perform with Safety.

X. " ALL such as are Ships under the Govern-
 " ment - - - ge of a Squadron, shall, as near as in
 " Them lieth keep with it, and not for Chace of other
 " Ships, or any other Cause, go from that Squadron,
 " but by the Command of the Admiral of that Squa-
 " dron; unless any of the two Chief Generals shall
 " send

" send for Them, or by Message appoint Them to any
 " Service, or that, by Weather, They be separated :
 " And then, as They may, They shall endeavour to
 " repair to the Place appointed by such Instructions as
 " shall be set down. And if there be any Sail per-
 " ceived by any of the Ships of any Squadron, it shall
 " be lawful for the next Ship, having the Wind, to
 " give Chace, the Ship descried being to the Windward,
 " and the like of any that shall be nearest to bear up,
 " if the Sail be descried to the Leeward. But because,
 " upon every Chace, All will be apt to follow the same,
 " and so be led away upon every Occasion from the
 " Fleet, it shall not be lawful for any second Ship to
 " follow any Chace, (One having undertaken the same)
 " unless the Admiral of the Squadron hang out two
 " Flags, one over another. If it be necessary that
 " three do follow, then shall the General, or Admiral
 " of the Squadron hang out three Flags, one over ano-
 " ther, which shall be for Warrant to the next, and
 " fittest to follow as aforesaid. But if the Admiral bear
 " up, and come upon a Wind himself, then may all
 " the Squadron give Chace, and follow. Which if
 " it should seem inconvenient to any of the Lords Ge-
 " nerals of the Army, if it please any of Them to hang
 " out the Flag of Council, the same may be a Warn-
 " ing that the Chace is misliked, and then All give
 " over, and keep their Course,

X. " EVERY Ship shall, towards the Evening, seek
 " to come, as near as conveniently She may, to speak
 " with the Admiral of the Squadron, to know his
 " Pleasure, and what Course He will keep, and that
 " the Admiral of the Squadron do bear up, or stand
 " upon a Wind to speak with us, their Generals, if
 " He conveniently may. The Rest of the Squadrons
 " may, notwithstanding, keep their Course, and Dif-
 " tance,

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" tance. And if the Admiral of the Squadron cannot
" recover the Head of the Fleet, before Night, the Rest
" shall then follow the Light of the Vice-Admiral of
" the said Squadron.

XII. " THAT every Squadron keep a good Breadth,
" one from another, and that the Squadrons do, in
" Themselves, keep a reasonable Breadth, one from
" another, that they fall not foul one of another,
" whereby Danger may grow; And that the great Ships
" have especial Regard not to calm the smaller Ships;
" And if any of these smaller Ships shall negligently
" bring themselves in Danger of the greater Ships, the
" Captain and Masters especially, shall be severely
" punished. And farther, that either the Admiral, or
" Rear-Admiral, of the Squadron, be always in the
" Rear-ward of his Fleet.

XIII. " WHEN there is a Flag of Council of the
" Red Cross out, in either of one of the two Generals
" Ships, half Mast high against the Main Mizzen,
" then the Captains and Masters, of every Ship, shall
" repair on Board that Ship, where the Flag is so hung
" out. And when the Flag of Arms shall be displayed,
" then shall the selected Council only come aboard.

XIV. " If your Ship happen to spring a Mast, to
" fall into a Leak, or such Mischance, (which God
" forbid,) You shall shoot off a Piece, and spring a
" loose. If it be in the Night, You shall shoot off
" two Pieces, and bear two great Lights, one a Man's
" Height and a half, above another.

XV. " EVERY Captain, and Master of the Fleet
" shall have a special Regard, that no Contention be
" found betwixt the Mariners, and the Soldiers; and
" in Time of Sicknes, (if any do happen amongst You)
" You shall, of such good Things as are to be had, and
" are

" are needful for Them, distribute unto Them in such convenient Sort as You may.

" XVI. " If you happen to loose Company, your Token shall be --- Main-Top-sail twice, if it be foul Weather, th --- strike your Main Mizzen twice, or as often as you list-, nder --- re your White Pendant, on your Mizzen Yard. And if You shall be of the Company of Us, your Generals, You shall find Us at such Place, as We will give you Instructions for, at Sea.

XVII. " If, in Chasing of any Ship, You happen to fetch Her up, if She be a Ship in Amity with her Majesty, You shall treat her well, and bring her to Us. But if You find Her to be an enemy, You shall make no Spoil of the Goods in Her; But shall take the Captain, and Master of Her aboard You, and put into her some sufficient Persons to bring Her forthwith unto Us, your Generals, or to such as We shall assign, that Order may be taken what shall be done with Her.

XVIII. " WHEN You shall be appointed to give Chace, and that You shall surprize any Enemy's Ship that shall have Treasure or Merchandize of Value in Her, You shall take great Care that those Commodities in Her be preserved, in Respect whereof, and for your loyal, and faithful Service to be done, in this Voyage, Her Majesty's Favour, Bounty, and Pleasure is, that a third Part of that which shall be taken from the Enemy, so it be not the King's Treasure, Jewels, or a Carrack, shall be employed to the Commodity, and Benefit of the whole Company, over and above their ordinary Wages, and Each according to his Desert.

XIX. " No Captain, or Master shall suffer any Spoil to be made aboard any Ship, or Bark, that shall
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" be taken by them, or any of their Companies, upon
" Pain to be displaced of their Offices, or some great
" Punishment, according to the Offence given; be-
" cause the Rest of the Company have Interest in every
" Thing that shall be taken. Therefore the Value
" of every such Thing, be it of great, or small Im-
" portance, must especially be regarded, and considered
" of. And whatsoever Soldier, or Mariner, that obey-
" eth not accordingly, shall be despoiled of that which
" He hath gotten, and his Person extremely punished.

XX. " WHOSOEVER shall enter aboard any Ship,
" He shall give Account of those Things, which shall
" be wanting, and taken out of Her; For that no
" other Company shall board Her, unless there be Need
" of their Help.

XXI. " If We happen to meet with any great
" Fleet, supposed to be the Army of the King of *Spain*,
" You shall endeavour Yourself to come as near Us,
" Generals, or to the Admiral of your Squadron, or,
" in our Absence, to the Vice-Admiral, or Rear-Ad-
" miral of the Fleet, to know what You shall be di-
" rected unto, as You will answer it upon the Peril of
" your Lives.

XXII. " THE Watch shall be set every Night, by
" eight of the Clock, either by Trumpet, or Drum,
" and singing the Lord's Prayer, some of the Psalms of
" *David*, or clearing the Glass. And, after the Watch
" is set, no Trumpet, or Drum shall be heard, or any
" Piece whatsoever shall be shot off, without such
" great Cause be offered, as is before signified, or such
" like.

XXIII. " You are to take especial Care of your
" Watch by Night, and that the Soldiers do watch,
" as well in Harbour, as at Sea, one third Part of Them
" every Night, and that there be a Captain of the
" Watch

“ Watch appointed, who shall take Care that no Fire,
 “ or Light be suffered, but only such Candles in Lan-
 “ thorns as are allowed to the Quarter-Masters, or
 “ otherwise upon Necessity ; And that in Harbour, a
 “ certain Number be appointed to keep diligent Watch
 “ in the Forecastle or Beak-head of your Ships, for
 “ Fear of cutting of Cables, which is a Practice much
 “ used in hot Countries.

XXIV. “ If, at any Time, the Generals have
 “ Occasion to order a Chase, and that Order be given
 “ to any other Ships - - - - - their Flags, until
 “ their Return unto the Fleet, all the - - - - shall
 “ follow the Flag, and in what Ship soever it be placed ;
 “ And that whatsoever Ship shall be next, the same
 “ shall take up our, your General's Boats, when We
 “ give Chase, or the Boats of any of the Admirals of
 “ Squadrons, or others whatsoever.

XXV. “ No Man upon Pain of Death, shall pre-
 “ sume to land in any Country, until his Return in-
 “ to *England*, without Order from Us, your Generals,
 “ or such as We shall appoint to command.

XXVI. “ No such Person shall depart out of the
 “ Ship wherein He is placed, into another, without
 “ special Leave of his Captain ; And no Captain, or
 “ Master shall receive any such Person, without the
 “ Knowledge of Us, your Generals, or such as We
 “ shall appoint.

XXVII. “ In Fogs, (if any happen,) when your
 “ Ships are becalmed, You shall cause some Noise to
 “ be made, by Drum, by Trumpet, by Shooting off
 “ a Musket, or Calliver, now, and then, or by some
 “ other like Means, that hearing You to be near every
 “ One may take Heed, lest He fall foul another.

XXVIII. “ No Person whatsoever shall dare to strike
 “ any Captain, Lieutenant, Master, or other Officer,
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 " upon

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" upon Pain of Death. And, farthermore, whatsoever
 " He be that shall strike any inferior Person, He shall
 " receive Punishment, according to the Offence given,
 " be it by Death, or otherwise.

XXIX. " THERE shall be no Report, or Talk raised
 " in the Fleet, wherein any Officer, or Gentleman in
 " the same may be touched in Reputation; or Matter
 " of Importance spoken, without its Author, who shall
 " be severely punished, as an evil Member amongst
 " Us.

THE *Instructions, and Orders given by Elizabeth, were*
briefly these :

" TO make a strict Inquiry into the Quantity of
 " Provisions, that were laid up in the *Spanish*
 " Ships, or Ware-houses, to be made use of against *Eng-*
 " *land* and *Ireland*, or sent to *Calais*, and to do what
 " They could to intercept or destroy Them, as also the
 " Enemies Ships, so far as might be done, without
 " running too great a Risque on their own Side. For
 " (as the Queen often said) She had much rather her
 " Men should be reserved for the Defence of their
 " own Country, than pushed upon the common Haz-
 " ards of War, where little was to be gotten, either of
 " Honour, or Advantage. That what Towns soever
 " They took, They should spare the Women, and
 " Those that were very young, or else decipied, and
 " put None to the Sword but Such as made Opposition.
 " That the Spoil, and Plunder should be kept safe, to
 " make good the Expences of the War, and to reward
 " Those that acted bravely. That the Gentlemen of
 " the Council should faithfully deliver their Advices,
 " and Opinions, without dividing into Sides, and Par-
 " ties; and that the Plurality of Votes should always
 " determine

"determine it. That when they had destroyed what
 "Ship or provision They could, belonging to the Ene-
 "my, They should send out some Men of War, to
 "intercept the *Indian Carracks*, if They received
 "any Intelligence of their Coming.

PREVIOUS to their Departure from *Plymouth*, a
 Manifesto was printed, and published, in *French, Ita-
 lian, Dutch, and Spanish*, shewing the just, and ur-
 gent Reasons, why the Queen, at this Time, set forth
 so great a Navy, and threatening all Nations, who
 should, any Way assist the *Spaniards* against Them.

THE Contents of this MANIFESTO were as follow :

"To all *Christian* People, to whom this Declarations
 "shall come, to be read, or heard, *Greeting*.

"WE, *Robert*, Earl of *Essex*, and *Ewe*, Viscount
 "Hereford, Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Bourchier*,
 "and *Louvain*, &c. And *Charles*, Lord *Howard*,
 "Baron of *Effingham*, Lord High Admiral of *England*,
 "&c. Having the Charge of the royal Navy of Ships,
 "prepared, and sent to the Seas, by the most excellent
 "Princess, the Lady *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*,
 "*France*, and *Ireland*, &c. do give all Men Knowledge,
 "that the said Navy, under our Charge, is by her Ma-
 "jesty prepared, and sent to serve on the Seas, for De-
 "fence of Her Majesty's Realms, Dominions, and
 "Subjects, against such mighty Forces as We are ad-
 "vertised, from all Parts of Christendom, to be already
 "prepared by the King of *Spain*, and by farther Pro-
 "visions of Men, and Ships, daily sent for, are to be
 "mightily increased, to invade Her Majesty's Realms,
 "as heretofore in the Year, 1588, was attempted
 "(even when there was a Treaty, continued by both
 "their Majesties for Peace) with a greater Army than
 "ever

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a greater Army than
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" ever before, in his Time, was set to Seas ; although
" by GOD's Goodness, and the Valour, and Wisdom
" of her noble, and faithful Subjects, the same was no-
" tably made frustrate. And because Her Majesty
" hath good intelligence of perfect Amity, with all
" Kings, and Princes of Christendom, saving with the
" King of Spain, who hath these many Years, most
" unjustly professed, openly, great Enmity, by divers
" Actions, both against her royal Person, and her
" People, and Countries, without any just Cause first
" given, on Her Majesty's Part : Therefore, We,
" the said Earl, and Lord Admiral, do ascertain all
" Persons, that We are most strictly commanded, by
" Her excellent Majesty, to forbear from offending in
" this our Voyage, of any Manner of Persons, of
" what Nation soever, except the said King's natural
" Subjects, or such other born Strangers, as shall give to
" the said King, manifest Aid, with Men, Ships, Artille-
" ry, Victuals, and other warlike Provisions, for Invasion
" of Her Majesty. Which, her Majesty's Command, We,
" mean dutifully to observe, and do, therefore, give strict
" Charge to all Persons, that shall serve in this Navy,
" underneath Us, upon Pain of extreme Punishment,
" to observe the same ; Yet, to avoid all Occasions,
" that may breed Question, who They are, being
" not the King of Spain's Subjects, that shall be charged
" by Us, to be manifest Aiders for the furnishing, and
" strengthening of the said King's Forces, provided
" either by Land, or Sea, to attempt any Invasion of
" her Majesty's Countries ; We do, for the Liquidation
" of this Doubt, earnestly, in GOD's Name, require,
" and charge all Persons, that are not the said King's
" natural Subjects, and yet that have given Him Aid
" with their Ships, Victuals, and Munition, as is
" abovesaid, to withdraw all their said Ships, prepared
" for

“ for the War, and all their Provisions of Hostility,
“ out of any Havens of *Spain*, or *Portugal*, or from
“ the Company, and Service of the King’s Ships, against
“ our Navy ; and therewith to return, either to their
“ own Countries, or if They shall like to come to our
“ Navy ; to whom, in the reverend Name of our Sove-
“ reign Lady, the Queen’s Majesty, We do promise
“ all Security, both for their Persons, and Goods,
“ to be used, and defended as Friends, and to suffer all
“ their Ships, and Provisions, that were taken by the
“ King of *Spain*, or intended for his Service, or that
“ shall be, by the Owners, withdrawn from his Aid,
“ to remain in their free Disposition, so as the same
“ be used in all Sorts, as Friends, and not as Enemies
“ to the Queen’s Majesty, and to us, her Generals ;
“ And if any shall, upon Knowledge of this Her Ma-
“ jesty’s most honourable Order, and of our Promise,
“ to observe the same as favourably as We may, wil-
“ lingly, and manifestly refuse to accept this our Of-
“ fer, and shall not endeavour Themselves to perform
“ this reasonable Request, tending to their Good, and
“ Liberty ; We shall then be justly moved, as by the
“ Law of Arms We may, to take, and use all such
“ so refusing this our Offer, as manifest Aiders of the
“ King of *Spain*, with Forces to invade Her Majesty’s
“ Dominions, and so manifest Enemies : And in such
“ Case of that Refusal, if any Harm shall happen, by
“ any attempt against their Persons, Ships, and Goods,
“ by any of our Navy, for the aiding of the said King,
“ there shall be no just Cause for Them hereafter to
“ complain, or to procure their natural Princes, and
“ Lords to sollicite Restitutions, or Amends for the
“ same. And for the more Notification hereof, We
“ have thought good to have the Original hereof, to be
“ signed with our Hands, and with our Seals to be
“ seen

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" seen by any that will require to read, or see the same:
 " And, likewise, We have put the same in Print, in
 " French, Italian, Dutch, and Spanish, and have also
 " caused the same to be distributed, into as many Ports
 " of Spain, and Portugal, as conveniently might be,
 " for the better Knowledge to be had, in the said Ports,
 " as also in all other Ports, under his Subjection.

R. ESSEX.

C. HOWARD."

On this Occasion, the *English* Fleet was reinforced by a *Dutch* Squadron, well manned, and victualled, consisting of twenty-four Ships, and intrusted to the Conduct of the Admiral *Van Duvenvoord*. The whole Armament remained, for some Time, at *Plymouth*, but on the first of June, in the Year one thousand, five hundred, and ninety-six, (when all Objections to the Dismission of such a Number of Ships, and Mariners, from the *English* Harbours, whilst the *Spaniards* meditated a Descent, were intirely removed,) the Signal was displayed for Sailing, and shortly afterwards, every Vessel, assisted by a fair Wind, stood out to Sea (e). In the Orders given to each Captain, and which He was enjoined not to open until He should have passed *Cape Saint Vincent*, the general Rendezvous was fixed at *Cadix*. A discretionary Power of unsealing his Instructions, was granted to every Officer, whose Ship might be separated from the Fleet, and all Papers whatsoever relative to the Enterprize, were directed to be thrown overboard, when any Danger would be apprehended from the Enemy.

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Having

(e) Camden, V. 3. p. 720, 721.—Sir William Monson's naval Tracts, p. 184.—Hackluyt, V. 1. p. 607.—Meteren, Liv. 18. Fol. 390.—Bentivoglio, P. 3. Liv. 3.

Having approached the *Spanish Coasts*, the Lords *Essex*, and *Essex* dispatched the *Litins*, the *True Love*, and the *Lion's Whelp*, three of the swiftest sailing Tenders belonging to the Fleet, with Orders to intercept every Vessel which could carry Intelligence to the Enemy. On the tenth of June, Sir *Richard Levison*, and Sir *Christopher Blunt* fell in with, and took three Fly-boats, from the Port of *Hamburg*. The Commanders of These informed the *English*, from the best Authority, that the *Spaniards*, at *Cadiz*, imagined Themselves to be perfectly secure, and were even confident that no adverse Power would have the Temerity to attack the Place. In two Days afterwards, Sir *Richard Weston*, who, in the *Swan*, an armed Tender, was directed to cruize at a considerable Distance from the Fleet, gave Chace to a large Fly-boat, and arriving within Hail, commanded Her to strike. She immediately resisted, and at the Close of a long, and fierce Engagement, had the good Fortune to escape. This Advantage was, notwithstanding, of short Duration. She was taken, the following Day, within a League of the Shore, by Sir *Marmaduke Dorrel*, in the *John and Francis*, a Ship equipped for this Expedition by the Citizens of *London*. The Commander of this Prize confessed that it was his Determination, if He had not been prevented, to have sailed immediately to *Lisbon*, in Order to advise the *Spaniards* that the *English* were approaching. He added that some rich Galleons were, then, on their Passage from *Saint Lucan*, to *Cadiz*. Having, thus, intercepted the Vessels which could acquaint the Enemy of their Design, the *English* were so sanguine as to conclude that the Issue of their Enterprize must be successful. On a nearer Approach to *Cadiz*, They took an *Irish* Vessel, the Captain of which confirmed the Circumstances related by the Masters

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ters of the Fly-boats, and observed that the Harbour was full of Ships of War, Gallies, Galleons, and Merchant-men, all richly laden for a Voyage to the *Indies*; and that no military Force, except a small Garrison, was quartered on the whole Island.

Elated with the Views of Conquest, and of valuable Plunder, the *English* hastened to the Scene of Action, and, on the twentieth of June, arrived at *Cadiz*. It had been determined in Council, that the Forces should debark at *Saint Sebastian*, and on the *Western* Side of the Island. Here, therefore, the Ships were anchored; But Obstacles arose to frustrate the Execution of the original Design. The Wind became exceedingly violent, the Sea much agitated, and, in the same Moment, four powerful Gallies rowed to a proper Distance from the Shore, and lay in Readiness to obstruct the Passage of the Boats.

The Day was now consumed in unavailing Messages between the Generals: At length, it was agreed to adopt the Measure which had been recommended, on the Morning of their Arrival, by Sir *William Monson*, Captain under the Earl of *Essex*, and to secure the Ships and Gallies, in the Bay, before the least Attempt was made to land.

It was, next, debated to whom the Honour of first entering the Harbour should be assigned. *Essex*, young, impatient, and smitten with the Love of martial Fame, proposed *Himself* to take the Lead in this important Enterprize. The Lord High Admiral, more diffident, and cautious, advised him to desist, observing that his Miscarriage might prove the Ruin of the Fleet. The cool Prudence of *Essex* was ill-suited to the unguarded Fire of *Essex*. He now demanded as a Right, the Privilege of proceeding first to the Attack, but was informed that *Elizabeth*, anxious for his Safety, and fear-

ing the Consequences of his impetuous Disposition, had secretly directed that, during the Engagement, He should not be permitted to command the Van. When the Reader shall have been told that on the Discovery of the Intention to attack the *Spanish* Ships within the Harbour, the Earl of *Essex* threw his Hat into the Sea, and gave a Loose to the utmost Extravagance of Joy, He will easily conceive with what Mortification that spirited Commander attended to a Sentence, which seemed expressly to deprive Him of the Post of Honour (f).

The Service to which *Essex* had vainly aspired was intrusted to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Thomas Southwell*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Robert Crofts*. These, with some Officers of inferior Note, passed, in light, and swift Vessels, at Break of Day, by the Fire of Fort *Saint Philip*, and of the Gallies, and bore up, in great Order, towards the *Spanish* Ships.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in the *Warspight*, took his Station a-head of the adverse Fleet, and, having discharged a Broad-Side, was seconded by Sir *Francis Vere*, who, in the *Rainbow*, kept up an incessant Firing against the Gallies, which, being greatly sheltered by the Town, made a long and vigorous Resistance, with the Cannon on their Decks, until the Earl of *Essex* advanced to support the *Rainbow*. The Gallies now rowed with great Precipitation from the Place of Action, and passing along the Shore, gained the Extremity of the Bay, at the Part where the Island of *Cadiz* is joined to the Continent, by the Bridge of *Suaro*. Here, by the Assistance of a Machine, all but three, (intercepted by Sir *John Wingfield*, in the *Vanguard*,) were conveyed through

(f) Sir William Monson, p. 196.

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through a narrow Channel into the Ocean, on the Southern Side of Cadiz.

Meanwhile, Several of the *Spanish* Ships maintained their Station near the Fort of *Punta*, receiving, and returning with equal Fury, until Noon, the Cannoning of the *English*. During all this Time, the Lord High Admiral, and his Son, were in the Heat of the Engagement.

At length, the Enemy, whose Number had been diminished, and whose Ships were exceedingly shattered, lest They should fall a Sacrifice to the *English*, conceived the desperate Resolution of setting Fire to the greater Part of their Fleet, and effected it, with such Precipitation, that Multitudes of the Men, wanting Time to get the Boats in Readiness, were obliged to plunge into the Ocean; and must have miserably perished, if the *English* had not melted into Compassion, and, listening to their Cries for Quarter, immediately relieved Them.

In the Moment of this almost general Conflagration of the *Spanish* Ships, the *Saint Philip*, of the Burthen of fifteen hundred Tons, and, on Board of which their Admiral had hoisted his Flag, was blown up by a *Moorish* Slave, who, with equal Villainy, and Resolution, set Fire to the Gunpowder. Three other Vessels, stationed too near the *Saint Philip*, were involved in this Calamity.

The *Saint Matthew*, a Galleon, of the Burthen of twelve hundred Tons, and the *Saint Andrew*, a Ship of equal Force, were fortunately preserved, and taken; the First through the Vigilance of the Lord High Admiral; and the Last, by the Assistance of Sir *Thomas Gerrard*. The few remaining Vessels which the *Spaniards* had not either burned, or sunk, were run ashore.

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During

(g) Hackluyt. V. 1.—Monfou. P. 184.—Ferrerias Hist. de

During these Transactions, the *Dutch* had, with great Resolution, attacked, and carried the Fort of *Punta*, and, soon afterwards, the Earl of *Essex*, at the Head of eight hundred Men, debarked at the Distance of a League from *Cadiz*, for the Purpose of reducing it, on the Land-Side, whilst the Ships cannonaded it from the Sea.

When these Arrangements had taken Place, Sir *Cornier*, *Clifford*, Sir *Christopher Blount*, and Sir *Thomas Gerrard* were sent to break down the Bridge, and the Engine which had secured the Escape of the Gullies, and, also, to prevent any Access from the Island, to the Continent. They had no sooner succeeded in these Enterprizes, than *Essex* marched forward with his Troops.

Attending this gallant Officer, were the Earl of *Suffex*, Count *Lodowick*, of *Nassau*, *William Herbert*, Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, an *Irish* Gentleman of the Name of *Bourke*, Sir *Edward Wingfield*, Sir *Christopher Saint Lawrence*, Sir *Robert Drury*, Sir *Thomas Germin*, Sir *Christopher Hayden*, Sir *Alexander Ratcliff*, and Others of the first Distinction. These were followed by the Lord High Admiral, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *William Paget*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Robert Southwell*, Sir *Richard Levison*, Sir *Philip Woodhouse*, Sir *Robert Mansel*, and the Crews of the different Ships, before whom Sir *Edward Hobby* carried the Standard. This last Body arrived at the Instant when the Troops, under the Earl of *Essex*, were forcing their Way into the City.

When the *English* had approached the Walls, a Body of five hundred *Spaniards* were so terrified that they did

de Espana. P. 15. Sec. 16.—Mayerne.—Turquet. Hist. d'Espagne. Liv. 36. P. 128.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 489. 487.—Lediard's Naval History. V. 1. Folio. p. 332.

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did not venture to make the least Resistance, but fled, with much Precipitation, and in great Disorder. The *English* pressed upon their Rear; and such was the Confusion, and Astonishment of the *Spaniards*, that They scarcely had the Power to prepare for their Defence; and Sir *Francis Vere*, with a small Body of the Troops, passed, unresisted, within the Gates, whilst the Lieutenants, *Arthur Savage*, and *Samuel Bagnal*, by leaping, bravely, from an Eminence, enjoyed the Honour of first entering the Town. In the Streets, They were opposed, although faintly, by the *Spaniards*. The Firing which did the most Execution, proceeded from the Summits of the Houses, and wounded Numbers of the *English*; but was fatal only to Sir *John Wingfield*, who fell, engaging at the Head of his Company, in the Market-Place, and, on the Spot where *Savage* and *Bagnal*, covered with their own Blood, were knighted by the Earl of *Essex*. After this Skirmish, the Garrison, and Several of the Inhabitants retreated into the Castle, and the Town-House. On the Day following, They proposed a conditional Submission to the *English*, which was accepted, at the Delivery of forty Hostages for the Payment of six hundred, and twenty thousand Ducats, the Ransom of the Lives of the *Spaniards* (h).

A Proclamation was now issued, by the Conquerors, to forbid the Perpetration of any act of Violence against the *Spaniards*; and all the Women, Priests, and Citizens were conveyed to *Porto Santa Maria* in *English* Ships. *Essex*, whose Politeness, and Humanity were not exceeded even by his Valour, permitted the Ladies to deck Themselves in their most sumptuous Apparel, and costly Jewels, and, attending Them to the Shore, restrained the Licentiousness of the Soldiers, who might, otherwise, have proceeded to Brutality, and Insult.

THE

The Lord High Admiral now dispatched Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with several of the light Frigates, to *Puerto Reale*, for the Purpose of destroying the Merchant-Ships which had retreated thither. To preserve These, the *Spaniards* offered a Composition, amounting to two Millions, and a Half of Ducats (i). But this enormous Bribe was virtuously refused by *Effingham*, who answered that *He came to burn, and not accept of Ransoms*. Alarmed at the determinations of his Enemy, and perceiving that this Fleet was on the Point of being taken, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* (the late Commander of the *invincible Armada*,) embraced the desperate Resource of setting Fire to the Ships, the Remains of which, together with twenty Millions of Ducats, were buried in the Ocean (k).

As the Remarks of a naval Writer (l) who signalized Himself on this Occasion, whilst They confirm, and elucidate a Number of the Circumstances which have already been related, appear to differ slightly from the Rest, it may be necessary to introduce Them to the Reader.

“ Sir *Walter Raleigh* had the Van given to Him,
 “ which the Lord *Thomas Howard* challenged, in Right
 “ of his Place of Vice-Admiral, and it was granted to
 “ Him; But Sir *Walter*, having Order over Night to
 “ ply in, came first to an Anchor; yet at that Distance
 “ from the *Spaniards*, that he could not annoy Them.
 “ He therefore, returned on Board the Lord General
 “ *Effen*, to excuse his coming to an Anchor so far off,
 “ for

(i) Harris—Hackluyt.

(k) Camden, V. 3. p. 725.—Stowe. p. 774.—Speed. p. 870.—Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Relation of the Action at Cadiz, Genuine Remains published by his Grandson. p. 25.—Vere's Commentaries. p. 42.

(l) Sir *William Monson*.

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774.—Speed. p.
Action at Cadiz,
on. p. 25.—Vere's

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“ for Want of Water to go higher : It was thought
“ strange, that the *Spaniards*, who drew much more
“ Water, and had no more Advantage than He of
“ Tide, could pass where his Ship could not. Sir *Fran-*
“ *cis Vere*, in the *Rainbow*, who was appointed to se-
“ cond Him, passing by Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Ship, He
“ weighed the second Time, and went higher. The
“ Lord General *Essex*, who promised to keep in the
“ Midst of the Fleet, was told by Sir *William Monson*,
“ that the greatest Service would depend upon three, or
“ four Ships, and He put Him in Mind of his Honour,
“ for that many Eyes beheld Him.

“ THIS made Him forget his Promise, and use all
“ Means He could to be foremost in the Fight.
“ The Lord *Thomas Howard*, who could not go up in
“ his own Ship, the *Mary Honora*, betook Himself to the
“ *Non-pareil*, and, in Respect the *Rainbow*, the *Repulse*,
“ and *Warspite* had taken up the best Part of the
“ Channel, by their first Coming to an Anchor, to his
“ Grief, He could not get higher. Here, did every
“ Ship strive to be the headmost; But such was the Nar-
“ rowness of the Channel, that neither the Lord High
“ Admiral, or any other Ship belonging to the *Queen*
“ could pass, one by another. A Command was given
“ that only the royal Ships should fire, making Account
“ that the Honour would be the greater, that was ob-
“ tained with so few.

“ THIS Fight continued from ten, until four in the
“ Afternoon : The *Spaniards* then set Sail, thinking
“ either to run higher up the River, or else to bring
“ their other Broad-sides unto us, because of the Heat
“ of their Ordnance ; But, howsoever it was, in their
“ Floating, They came aground, and the Men began
“ to forsake their Ships : Whereupon it was ordered,
“ that all the Hoys, and Vessels which drew the least
“ Water,

“ Water, should go in to them ; and Sir *William Mon-*
 “ *sen* was sent in the Boat of the *Repulse*, with the like
 “ Directions. They possessed themselves of the great
 “ *Galleons*, the *Matthew*, and *Andrew* ; But the *Philip*,
 “ and *Thomas* fired Themselves, and were burnt down
 “ before the Flames could be extinguished.

“ I must not forget to describe the Manner of the
 “ *Spanish Ships*, and *Gallies* riding in the Harbour, at the
 “ first Coming to *Cadiz*. The four *Galleons*, singled
 “ Themselves from out of the Fleet, as Guards of
 “ their Merchants ; the *Gallies* were placed to flank
 “ us with their Prows, at our Entry ; But when They
 “ saw our Approach, the next Morning, the Merchants
 “ ran up the River, and the Men of War to *Port-Royal*,
 “ to the Point of the River, and brought Themselves
 “ into a good Order of Fight, mooring their Ships a-
 “ head, and astern, to have their Broad Sides upon us.
 “ The *Gallies* then betook Themselves to the Guard of
 “ the Town, which We put them from, before We
 “ attempted the Ships.

“ THE Victory being thus obtained at Sea, the Lord
 “ General *Essex* landed his Men in a sandy Bay, which
 “ the Castle of the *Puntals* commanded ; but, They
 “ seeing the Success of their Ships, and mistrusting
 “ their own Strength, neither offered to obstruct his
 “ Landing, nor to defend the Castle, but quitted it ;
 “ and so We became Possessors of it.

“ AFTER the peaceable Landing of *Essex*, He con-
 “ sidered what was to be done ; and, whereas there was
 “ no Place from whence the Enemy could annoy us,
 “ but by the Bridge of *Suaro*, which crosses over from
 “ the main Land, to the Island, and, that by making
 “ good the Bridge, the *Gallies* could not escape us,
 “ He sent three Regiments, under the Command of Sir
 “ *Conyers Clifford*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and Sir *Thomas*
 “ *Garret*,

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" *Garret*, to the Bridge : At their first Coming, They
 " were encountered by the Enemy ; but possessed
 " Themselves of it, with the Loss of some Men ; But
 " whether it was for Want of Victuals, or for what
 " other Reasons, that They quitted it, I know not ;
 " but the Gallies, breaking down divers Arches, passed
 " it, and by that Means, escaped.

" *Essex* dispatched another Messenger to the Lord
 " Admiral, intreating Him to give Order to attempt
 " the Merchant-men, which rode in *Port-Royal* ; for
 " that it was dangerous to give Them a Night's Re-
 " spite, lest They should convey away their Wealth,
 " or take Example of the *Philip*, and *Thomas*, to burn
 " Themselves. This Message was delivered by Sir
 " *Anthony Ashley*, and Sir *William Monson*, whilst the
 " Lord Admiral was in his Boat, ready with his Crews
 " of Seamen to land ; and fearing that the Lord Ge-
 " neral *Essex* should be put to Distress, with his small
 " Company, which was but three Regiments, He hast-
 " ened, by all Means, to second Him, and gave Or-
 " ders to certain Ships, the next Day to pursue
 " Them."

Exclusive of the Merchant-Men, the King of *Spain*
 lost, on this Occasion, thirteen *Armadas* ; eleven Ships
 freighted for the *Indies*, two Galleons, (on Board of
 which were an hundred brass Cannons) and thirteen
 small Vessels. Twelve hundred Pieces of Ordnance,
 were, also, either taken, or sunk in the Sea (m). The
 only *Englishman* of Note who fell in this Action was Sir
John Wingfield, of whose Death We have already
 treated. His Remains were deposited (with great mi-
 litary Pomp,) in the Cathedral-Church of *Cadix*. When
 the Ceremony of the Interment was concluded, sixty
 gallant

(m) Stowe. p. 775.

gallant Officers, the Friends of the Deceased, were knighted, in Consideration of the Services which They had performed, on the Day of Battle (n).

The *English* were now in full Possession of the Town, and Castle of *Cadix*; the Exchange of Prisoners had been agreed on; and no Circumstance remained but to determine whether the Place should be relinquished, or preserved. The brave, and adventurous *Essex* insisted on the Propriety of keeping it, and declared that with only four hundred Men, and three Months Provisions, He would defend the Place, until the Succours should arrive from *England*. To this Opinion, Sir *Francis Vere*, and the Dutch Admiral *Van Duvenvoord*, assented; but *Effingham*, and the Others were determined to oppose it; and immediately prepared for their Departure.

Having plundered the Island, demolished the Forts, and reduced several of the Houses to Ashes, the *English* sailed, on the fifth of July, from *Cadix*, and proceeded to *Faro*, in the *Agarva*, which They found totally deserted. The Inhabitants had cleared every Dwelling of its Furniture, except the Library; the valuable Books in which, became, of Right, the Prize of the Earl of *Essex*.

The next Proposition of the General (in which the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Dutch Admiral concurred) was to repair to the *Azores*, for the Purpose of intercepting the Carracks, on their Passage from the *East-Indies*; but this, likewise, was rejected by the same Majority, who were impatient to return to *England*, and secure their Plunder. The Attempt to smother the martial Fire of *Essex*, served only to make it burn the fiercer; and He, now, strenuously recommended to the Council, the Necessity that *Himself*, with two of the Queen's Ships, and ten Vessels, should sail for the *Azores*; whilst that Part of the Fleet which was but slenderly

(n) Camden. V. 3. p. 726.

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sleenderly provided, and the Crews of which were sickly, might proceed for *England*. Even this Motion was unanimously thrown out; and, in Consequence of so unremitted an Opposition, the Earl requested that, in Order to prevent a censure from falling on a guiltless Individual, each Member of the Council might, in Writing, deliver his Opinion. This was instantly complied with, and, soon afterwards, the Fleet got under Sail; and, during the Passage, looked into the Ports of the *Groyne*, *Ferrol*, *Saint Andrew*, and *Saint Sebastian*; but, in none of These were any Ships belonging to the Enemy. The *English* again continued their Course, and, attended by two Galleons, richly freighted, and mounting an hundred brass Guns, arrived at *Plymouth*, on the eighth of August, and, in the same Year (s).

The first of the ensuing Papers will furnish the Reader with the clearest Idea of the Satisfaction which *Elizabeth* received from the Successes of her Arms; and the Others must elucidate some Circumstances relating to the Enterprize.

A COPY of a Letter to the two Lords GENERALS.

"IF my Pen had as many Tongues as the Flock
" of Owners had Feathers, They shall scarcely ex-
" press the Lauds, that my Soul yieldeth to the HIGH-
" EST for this great Victory, which His Graceful
" Hand hath given Us: And that You, as his Instru-
" ments, have so admirably, in few Hours, with such
" Valour, Order, and Resolution, performed so great
" an Action; Of which Sort I suppose has not been
" found, or seen a fellow. My Head can scarce in-
" vent Words sufficing my thankful Acceptance, nor
" Thanks

(s) Lord Barleigh's Diary, in Murdin's Collection, p. 809.

" Thanks enough for fuch Merit. This only yet
 " remains - - - - - that my fingle Care
 " of your Lives, and Surety hath, made Me drink
 " fo deep of *Lethe's* Flood, that I neither cared, nor
 " recked of what might elfe befall, which tho' not
 " the beft beftowed, when it was fo neglected, yet it
 " approves my - - - - - muft abide; Since
 " for fuch two I did it. You have made Me fa-
 " mous, dreadful, and renowned, not more for your
 " Vi&tor, than for your Courage; nor more for either,
 " than fuch plentiful Liquor of Mercy, which may
 " well match the better of the two. In which You
 " have fo well performed my 'Truſt, as thereby I fee
 " I was not forgotten amongſt You. You have fo
 " pleaſed my Mind therewith, as if I had a great Trea-
 " ſure I would leave it for it. Never was there heard
 " in fo few Days fo great a Gain obtained, which tho'
 " I do attribute moſt to the Fore-runners, yet I charge
 " You let the Army know, both of Sea, and Land, that
 " I care not fo much for being Queen, as that I am the
 " Sovereign of fuch Subjects, that blaſt my Fame with
 " their Worth, and paſſeth not, nor wiſheth not more
 " Days to breathe, than while fuch People may flou-
 " riſh, and deſires to end afore any Diſaſter, or Diſ-
 " honour fall on fuch a Nation. This tell Them from
 " Her, whoſe Thoughts, and Words never diſagreed,
 " and yield them fuch due Praise, as Papers cannot ut-
 " ter, but my Heart, while it laſteth, ſhall keep from
 " Oblivion. Among all Divine Bleſſings, I count' it
 " not the leaſt, that your Healths, nor your Harms
 " may ſlack your ſafe Return, for which whoſo hath
 " prayed moſt, hath never gained a Straw-breadth of
 " Me. Some other Things material You ſhall receive
 " from Others, which look You well to; For, among
 " much to do, much may be undone; But yet look

" to

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 367

" to the Stake. And so I end, with my never leaving
" my Oraisons for your best.

A COPY of the COUNCIL's Letter to the L. L. ADMIRALS, the 10 of August, 1596.

" AFTER our very hearty Commendations to
" your good Lordships, Her Majesty being given
" to understand, as well from your Lordships, of your
" Return, as otherwise, that your Lordships, and the
" Ships that were with You, in this Voyage, are al-
" ready arrived at *Plymouth*, or will be there before
" this our Letter can come to your Hands, upon the
" dissolving of this Army, consisting of Land Soldiers,
" and of Mariners, Her Majesty hath entered into Con-
" sideration how They are now to be disposed, with-
" out Continuance in Charge. Wherein, first, We are
" commanded by Her Majesty to let your Lordships
" know, how greatly it is to Her Majesty's Misliking,
" that she should be now solicited to be put to any
" farther Expences, for defraying of the Wages of
" these Soldiers, and Mariners, remembering the as-
" sured Promises, which, Her Highness says, She re-
" ceived, with so earnest Protestations, from both your
" Lordships, not only to see Her eased of that Burden,
" but of assured Hope of great Profit, and Gain, to de-
" fray these, and all other incident Charges, and to an-
" swer the precedent Expences, whereto her Majesty
" hath been. So as Her Majesty says She was, by
" your Persuasions, drawn very hardly to disburse, a-
" forehand, the Sum of above fifty Thousand Pounds.
" Whereto Her Majesty adds, as a great Burden to
" her Realm, the Charges the *Port Towns*, and espe-
" cially the City of *London*, were put unto in Provisi-
" ons, Manning, and Victualing of the Ships set forth
" by Them, whereof They were in Expectation to be
" Gainers,

“ Gainers for their Adventurers, and not Loofers. And
“ therefore, her Majesty says, if She shall now be
“ driven to farther Expences, She shall be greatly de-
“ ceived in her Expectation, and the Assurances which
“ you made Her, without which She would never have
“ yielded to the Voyage. Now, for the Order to be
“ taken with the Land-Soldiers, being accounted about
“ the Number of five Thousand : Of these two Thou-
“ sand, two Hundred which were drawn out of the
“ *Low-Countries*, are, by Her Majesty, resolved to be
“ sent again, in the Shipping of that Country, to be
“ conveyed back thither, to remain in those Garrisons,
“ and Places, where They were taken, as was promif-
“ ed by Sir *Francis Vere*, in Her Majesty's Name.
“ Nevertheless, We are to put your Lordships in Re-
“ membrance, of the former Direction, which we late-
“ ly sent to your Lordships, by Her Majesty's special
“ Command, which was, to take Order, that They
“ should first be duly searched, both their Persons, and
“ the Ships, and so returned thither directly, without
“ touching on Land here, where They which were be-
“ fore in Her Majesty's Pay shall receive the Wages
“ due unto Them, as before They did. For the O-
“ ther, being about three Thousand, Her Majesty
“ willeth Us to put your Lordship, the Earl of *Effex*,
“ in Mind, that there were Four Thousand Pounds im-
“ pressed to You, and the Lord Admiral, whereof Her
“ Majesty is informed, that You, the Earl, had two
“ Thousand Pounds. And therefore, the said Sum re-
“ ceived by You, the Earl, ought to be employed to-
“ wards the Pay of the Wages of those Land Soldiers.
“ And because Her Majesty, by Letters, lately sent out
“ of *Ireland*, is earnestly called upon by the Lord De-
“ puty, and Council there, to send speedily some Sup-
“ ply of Soldiers thither, the Rebels continuing in their
“ disloyal

OF

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 369

" disloyal Course, tho' the Earl of *Tyr-Oen* hath re-
" ceived his Pardon, therefore, as lately We wrote unto
" because Her Majesty is
" unwilling to burthen her Countries, with often Le-
" vies, (having been of late greatly charged,) and these
" Men are already in a Readiness armed, and well pre-
" pared, Her Majesty doth require your Lordships to
" make Choice out of the said three thousand Land-
" Soldiers, that were levied here within the Realm, to
" the Number of fifteen Hundred, or a Thousand, at
" the least, that may be speedily sent into *Ireland*, with
" their Captains. For which Purpose, there is Order
" sent to Mr. *Darrell*, for a Proportion of Victuals to
" be provided, both to serve Them in their Transport-
" ation, and after their arrival there, for two Months
" farther. And upon Notice from your Lordships,
" of your Consent hereto, there shall be present Di-
" rections given for the Charges of their Embarking,
" and to what Parts in that Realm They shall be di-
" rected. And to this End, We pray You, the Lord
" Admiral, to take Order for Shipping for their Trans-
" portation. Now concerning the other Part of your
" Lordship's Forces, (consisting of Mariners, and Sea-
" faring Men) We are likewise to put You, the Lord-
" Admiral, in Mind, of the two thousand Pounds
" above-mentioned, remaining in your Hands. And
" therefore, tho' Her Majesty doth not doubt, of so
" great Prizage, as was made at *Cadiz*, but there will
" be ready Money found to a far greater Sum, yet with
" that two thousand Pounds, your Lordship is to pay
" so far as it will extend: First, Those that were im-
" pressed in these *West* Parts, who before They be
" dismissed (as all the Rest,) are, also to be searched,
" and finding any of Them to have benefited Them-
" selves, with the Spoil They had gotten, above the
" Vol. II. B h " Value

" Value of their Wages, so much may be lawfully de-
 " ducted of their Entertainment. Nevertheless, if your
 " Lordship shall want Money, to pay the Residue that
 " is to be discharged there, your Lordships may take
 " up there, of her Majesty's Customers, or otherwise,
 " to the Sum of two, or three thousand Pounds, if
 " Cause shall so require, which shall be repaired again
 " in such Sort as You shall appoint, her Majesty
 " having given Order for the Sum of five thousand
 " Pounds towards the Sea-Charges. Whereof our
 " Meaning is, that the Sum which You shall borrow,
 " there, to the Discharge of the Mariners of those
 " Parts, shall be accounted as Part, and the Rest shall
 " be ready at *Chatham*, as You, the Lord Admiral, do
 " require, for the Mariners taken up in those Parts.
 " For all other Matters, We must refer your Lordships
 " to our late Letters, sent by her Majesty's special
 " Direction, whereof We doubt not but You will have
 " special Care, how the same may be performed, ac-
 " cording to her Majesty's Expectation. And so We
 " with your Lordships right heartily well to fare.
 " From the Court at *Greenwich*, the 10th of *August*,
 " 1596."

Objections, and Answers, stated by the Earl of *Effex*,
 and intended to serve as a Vindication of his Con-
 duct (p).

" OBJECTION I. " That the first and greatest Oc-
 " casion let slip in our Voyage was, that we did not
 " possess ourselves of the Fleet that was bound for the
 " *Indies*; the Loading whereof would not only have
 " paid all Charges of the Journey, but have enabled
 " Us a great While to make War with *Spain*, with
 " the Means of *Spain*.

ANSWER.

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the 10th of *August*,

by the Earl of *Essex*,
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ANSWER.

VI. 103. Fol. 271.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 371

ANSWER. " If I had been followed, the first Morn-
ing of our coming before that Harbour, when I bore
" with it; Or, if we had entered the same, *Sunday*
" in the Afternoon, when We were under Sail, and
" within Cannon-Shot of the Enemy's Fleet; Or, af-
" ter the Men of War were taken, and burnt the next
" Day; if any of our Shipping had gone up, as I
" urged by my own Speech, by Message sent to Sir
" *Anthony Asbley* (who, being Secretary of War, was
" to record every Man's Services, or Omissions,) if
" any of these had been done, then, I say, had that
" Fleet been easily possessed; For, the first Morning
" They had neither their Men on Board, (as it was
" since confessed by our Prisoners,) nor were They pro-
" vided of any Council, what to do for their Preserva-
" tion. In the Afternoon, of the same Day, We had
" found the Men of War, and the Merchant Ships all
" together, in one Body, and engaged Them both at
" once; so as, at the same Time, as We had defeated
" the one, we had possessed the other: And the next
" Day, presently upon the Fight, and Victory against
" the King's Ships, We had found them all so amazed,
" and confounded, as They would have thought of
" nothing but saving Themselves, and We had taken
" the Ships, and the Riches in Them, and the Fleet
" of Gallies, without striking a Blow; As our Prison-
" ers, and Captives, redeemed out of the said Gallies,
" have assured Us. But the first Morning, when I
" bore with the Harbour, almost all the Fleet came to
" an Anchor by the Point of *St. Sebastian's*, a League
" wide of me, and gave the Enemy Leisure to send
" Men, and all Necessaries aboard. When I was going
" in, in the Afternoon, I could neither get my Com-
" pany to weigh their Anchors, nor most of Those that
" were weighed, to go in with me; And the next Day

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" I had

" I had much ado to make our Ships fight at all. And
 " when God had given Us Victory, neither my Per-
 " suasions, nor Protestations could make Them that
 " were Sea-Commanders go up, or send to possess the
 " Fleet of the *Indies*, whilst We assailed the Town,
 " so as that the Enemy had almost forty-eight Hours to
 " burn his own Ships.

OBJECTION II. " That We did abandon *Cadiz*,
 " when we were possessed of it, whereas the holding
 " of it would not only have been a Nail in the Foot of
 " this great Monarchy, but in his Side, and have
 " served for a Diversion of all the Wars in those
 " Parts.

ANSWER. " Some of our Sea-Commanders, and,
 " especially my Colleague, did not only oppose Them-
 " selves to that Design, (whose Oppositions my In-
 " structions made an absolute Bar) but when We came
 " to see how the Force was, that should be left there,
 " and - - - - and every Ship at that Instant began
 " to fear their Wants, and to talk of going Home :
 " So that I neither could have had one Ship to stay at
 " *Cadiz*, nor Viaguas for the Garrison for two
 " Months ; And, therefore, was forced to leave *Cadiz*,
 " and did not choose to abandon it.

OBJECTION III. " That we did not lie for the Car-
 " racks, and *Indian* Ships, since We were on the Coast,
 " at the very Time that is thought fittest for the Inter-
 " cepting, and the usual Time of their Return.

ANSWER. " I must first cite the Testimony of all
 " our Commanders, by Land, and Sea, that when We
 " had, at our Return from *Cadiz*, doubled the Cape
 " *St. Vincent*, commonly called the *South-Cape*, I urged
 " our going to the Islands of the *Azores* ; founding my-
 " self upon these two Reasons. First, that it was
 " more certain to attend Them at the Land, where We
 " were

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 373

“ were assured They must touch, than to seek Them
 “ in the wide Sea; And next, that the Advices sent
 “ out of *Spain*, and *Portugal*, since our being on the
 “ Coast, might meet Them amongst the Islands, and
 “ make Them alter their usual Course from thence,
 “ but could hardly find Them beyond, and divert
 “ Them from coming thither: Besides, the *Spaniards*,
 “ after They saw Us engaged at *Cadiz*, would never
 “ suspect or dream, of our going to the Islands. And
 “ when this Counsel was rejected, and We came in
 “ Sight of *Lisbon*, I then pressed again the lying for
 “ Them, with a selected Fleet; And offered, on that
 “ Condition, to send Home the Land Forces, and all
 “ such Ships, as Want of Victuals, Leaks, Sickness,
 “ or any Thing else, whatsoever, had made unfit to
 “ stay out at Sea. But first, the Lord Admiral, and
 “ then Sir *Walter Raleigh*, did directly, by Attestation
 “ under their Hands, contradict the first Proposal that
 “ I made, that some Ships should attend the Service:
 “ And when We came to that of those Ships which
 “ were fit, and their Captains content to stay out, (ex-
 “ cept the *Low-Country Squadron*) there could be found
 “ but two, the Lord *Thomas Howard* and myself:
 “ So as by the whole Council at War, it was resolved,
 “ that as well my Offer, and Opinion, as every Man’s
 “ else amongst Us, should be kept under his Hand,
 “ for our particular Discharge, and to be barred of
 “ staying, except the Lord Admiral would assent to
 “ leave some eight, or ten of the Merchant-Ships, be-
 “ sides two of the Queen’s, which He refused, and so
 “ our Design was broke off.

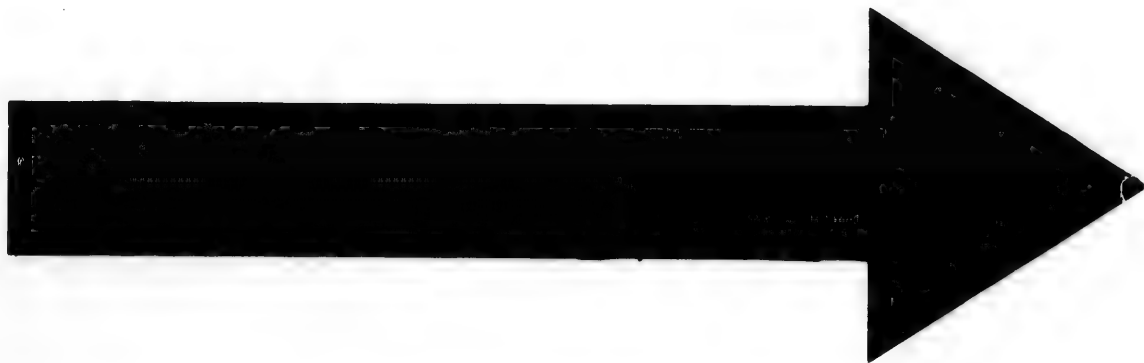
“ OBJECTION IV. “ That since all our Service con-
 “ sisted in taking, and destroying the *Spanish* Shipping,
 “ and Sea-Provisions, why did We not look into all

" his chief Ports, and do Him, in that Kind, as much.
 " Hurt as We might have done.

ANSWER. " My End in going to *Cadiz* was, not
 " only because it was a principal Port, and the like-
 " liest to be held by Us; because of the Seat, and natural
 " Strength of it; But also, with it, We might (if some
 " greater Service did not divert Us,) go to all the good
 " Ports betwixt that, and the nethermost Parts of *Bisc-*
 " *ay*, which was a better Way than to have begun,
 " and given the Enemy Alarm, in the Midst of His
 " Country, or the nearest Part to Us; For so our At-
 " tempts would have been more difficult, and our Re-
 " treats at last from those farthest Parts less safe, con-
 " sidering the Wants, Infections, and other Incon-
 " veniencies, that for the most Part do accompany the
 " Retreats of our Fleets, and Armies in long Journies.
 " But after We had ended at *Cadiz*, it was by all our
 " Sea-Men thought a capital Offence to name the pass-
 " ing over the Bar of *St. Lucar*. Betwixt *St. Lucar*,
 " and *Lisbon* there was no good Port. From *Lisbon* I
 " was barred by Name in my Instructions: And if it
 " had been free for Us to have gone, yet our Seamen
 " were made of the same Stuff, that *Sir Francis Drake*
 " and his Company were, when They lost the Occasion
 " of taking *Lisbon*, for Fear of passing by the Castle of
 " *St. Julian's*. From *Lisbon* to the *Groynes*, there is no
 " Port to hold the King's, or any other great Shipping.
 " To the *Groynes*, with Cart-Ropes, I drew Them:
 " For I both vowed, and protested against their Re-
 " fusal, and parted Company with Them, when They
 " offered to hold on their Course; But when We came
 " to the Mouth of the Harbour, and sent in some of
 " the small Vessels, We saw there was nothing there,
 " nor yet at *Ferrol*; For into that Port, also, We made
 " our Discoveries to look. After which Discovery We
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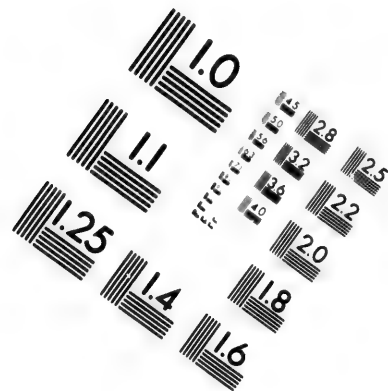
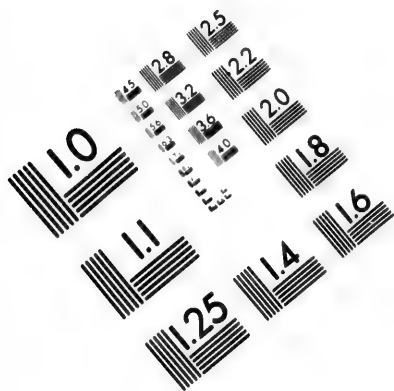
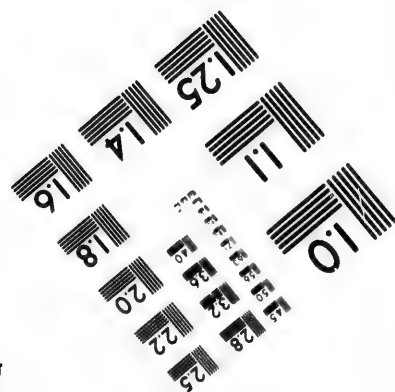
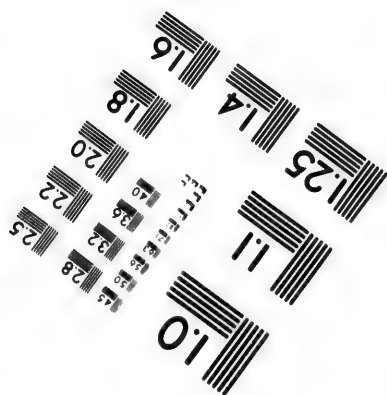
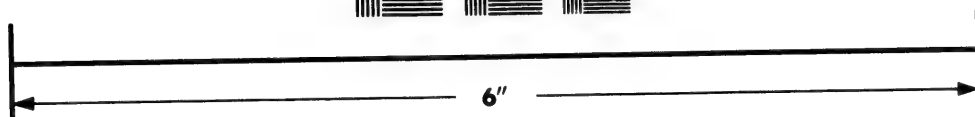
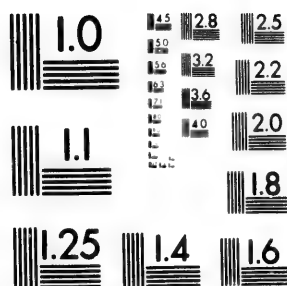


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“ held our last Council, and then I urged of going to
 “ *St. Andrew's* — Passage, *St. Sebastian's*, and all the
 “ good Ports all along the Coast; But my Associate
 “ did absolutely refuse to go farther, along the Coast,
 “ complaining of Wants, and objected our being em-
 “ bayed, and I know not what: In which Opinion, Sir
 “ *Walter Raleigh* strengthened Him; and They were
 “ both desirous to take upon Them the Honour of
 “ breaking the Design; And of landing at the *Groynes*,
 “ or attempting the Town, They would not hear, by
 “ any Means; And presently every Man tried to set
 “ Sail homewards, since which Time, They have
 “ made such Haste, as I, tarrying to bring along with
 “ me the *St. Andrew*, taken at *Cadiz*, and the Fly-boat
 “ that carried our Artillery, I have lost Them all, sav-
 “ ing Monsieur *Duvenvoord*, Sir - - - - *Wormot*, and
 “ his Squadron, and some few small Ships.”

The following Remarks of Sir *William Monson* ap-
 pear a necessary Supplement to the Objections, and An-
 swers of the Earl of *Essex*:

“ SINCE I have undertaken to except against the
 “ Oversight committed in any of our *English* Voy-
 “ ages; Such as were committed here, shall, with-
 “ out Fear, or Flattery, appear to the judicious Rea-
 “ der.

“ Tho' the Earl of *Essex's* Forwardness, and Car-
 “ riage, merited much, yet if it had been with more
 “ Deliberation, and less Haste, it would have succeed-
 “ ed better; And if He were now living, He would
 “ confess Sir *William Monson* advised Him rather to seek
 “ to be Master of the Ships, than of the Town; For
 “ it was They that would afford both Wealth, and
 “ Honour; For the Riches in the Ships could not be
 “ concealed, nor conveyed away, as, in the Town

“ They might. The Ships themselves, being brought
 “ for *England*, would be always before Men's Eyes
 “ there, and put Them in Remembrance of the Great-
 “ nesa of the Exploit; As for the Town, it might
 “ perhaps be soon won, but probably not long enjoyed,
 “ and so it could be quickly forgot. And to speak in-
 “ differently, the Earl's sudden Landing, without the
 “ Lord Admiral's Privity, and his giving Advice by
 “ a Message to attempt the Ships, which should have
 “ been resolved by a mature Deliberation, no Doubt
 “ but the Lord Admiral found his Honour a little e-
 “ clipsed, and perhaps did hasten his Landing, for his
 “ Reputation's Sake, when He thought it more Reason
 “ to have possessed the Fleet.

“ *BEFORE* the Lord Admiral could draw near the
 “ Town, the Earl of *Essex* had entered it, and altho'
 “ their Houses were built in such Manner, that every
 “ House served for a Platform, yet They were forced
 “ to quit Them, and to retire into the Castle.

“ My Lord, at last, in Despite of the Enemy,
 “ gained the Market-place, where He found the
 “ greatest Resistance, from the Houses thereabouts;
 “ And here it was that worthy Gentleman, Sir *John*
 “ *Wingfield* was slain.

“ My Lord of *Essex* having made his Way thro' the
 “ Town, came at last to the Market-Place, where He
 “ found the greatest, and sharpest Resistance from the
 “ Houses thereabouts, that sorely flanked Him, which
 “ Way soever He passed, or looked; and one House,
 “ more than the Rest, seemed most dangerous; Where-
 “ upon, I desired my Lord to spare me fifty old Sol-
 “ diers, of the *Low-Countries*, to give an Assault upon
 “ that House, which His Lordship granted, and I per-
 “ formed, and took it. In that Conflict, I was shot
 “ with a Musket-Ball, thro' my Scarf, and Breeches;

“ And

“ And the Handle, and Pommel of my Sword were shot
 “ from my Side, without any farther Hurt: As I stooped
 “ for my Handle, and Pommel of my Sword, Sir *John*
 “ *Wingfield* was next to me on Horseback, who had
 “ received a Hurt in his Thigh, a little before: And
 “ as He was asking me how I did, (fearing I was sore-
 “ ly wounded, by my stooping) He was shot with a
 “ Bullet in the Head, and suddenly fell down dead;
 “ and These were the last Words He ever spoke.

“ The Lord General *Essex* caused the Drum to
 “ sound thro’ the whole Town, that all Those who
 “ would yield, should repair to the Town-House,
 “ where They should have Promise of Mercy, and
 “ Those that would not, to expect no Favour: The
 “ Castle desired Respite to consider, until the Morn-
 “ ing following, and then by one general Consent,
 “ They surrendered Themselves, to the two Lords
 “ Generals Mercy. The chief Prisoners, Men and
 “ Women, were brought into the Castle, where They
 “ remained a little Space, and were sent away, with
 “ honourable Usage. The noble Treating of the
 “ Prisoners, hath gained an everlasting Honour to our
 “ Nation, and to the Generals in particular.

“ It cannot be supposed the Lords Generals had
 “ Leisure to be idle the Day following, having so great
 “ Business to consider of, as the securing the Town,
 “ and enjoying the Merchant-Ships: Therefore, for
 “ the speedier Dispatch of their Business, They treated
 “ with the best Men in the City, what Ransom should
 “ be given for their Town, and Liberties. An hun-
 “ dred, and twenty thousand Ducats were concluded
 “ upon, and for Security thereof, many of Them-
 “ selves became Hostages. There was likewise an
 “ Overture for the Ransom of their Ships, and Goods,
 “ which the Duke of *M-dina* hearing of, rather than

“ We

" We should reap any Advantage by Them, He
" caused Them to be fired.

" We found by Experience, that the destroying of
" this Fleet (which did amount to the Value of six, or
" seven Millions,) was the general impoverishing of
" the whole Country; For, when the Pledges were
" sent to *Sevil*, to take up Money, for their Redemption,
" They were answered, that all the Town was not able
" to raise such a sum: So great was their Loss by the
" Destruction of their Fleet. And, to speak indifferent-
" ly, *Spain* never received so great an Overthrow,
" so great a Spoil, and so great an Indignity, at our
" Hands, as this: For our Attempt was at his own
" Home, in his Port, that He thought so safe as his
" Chamber; where We took, and destroyed his Ships
" of War, burnt, and consumed the Wealth of his
" Merchants, sacked the City, ransomed his Subjects,
" and entered his Country, without Opposition.

" To write all the Circumstances of this Voyage,
" were too tedious, and would weary the Reader, but
" He that would desire to know the Behaviour of the
" *Spaniards*, as well as of Us, may confer with divers
" *Englishmen*, that were redeemed out of the Gallies, in
" Exchange for Others, and brought into *England*.

" AFTER We had enjoyed the Town of *Cadiz*, a
" Fortnight, and that all Men were grown rich by the
" Spoil of it, the Generals embarked their Army,
" with an Intent to perform great Services, before
" their Return; But such was the Covetousness of the
" better Sort, who were enriched there, and the Fear
" of Hunger in Others, who complained for Want of
" Victuals, as They could not willingly be drawn to
" any farther Action, to gain more Reputation. The
" only Thing that was afterwards attempted was
" *Faro*, a Town of *Algarva*, in *Portugal*, a Place of
" no

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“no Resistance, or Wealth, only famous for the
 “Library of *Oforius*, who was Bishop of that Place,
 “which Library was brought into *England* by us, and
 “many of the Books bestowed upon the new erected
 “Library of *Oxford*.

“SOME Prisoners were taken, but of small Account :
 “They discovered that the greatest Strength of the
 “Country was in *Lagos*, the chief Town of *Algarva*,
 “twelve Miles distant from thence; They commend-
 “ed that Place for Strength, and the rather, because
 “most Part of the Gentlemen thereabouts were gone
 “thither, to make it good, expecting our Coming.
 “This News was acceptable to my Lord of *Essex*, who
 “preferred Honour before Wealth; And having had
 “his Will, and the Spoil of the Town of *Faro*, and the
 “Country thereabouts, He went on Board again,
 “with his Army, and took Counsel of the Lord
 “Admiral, how to proceed after. My Lord Admiral
 “diverted his Purpose for *Lagos*, alledging the Place
 “was strong, of no Wealth, always held in the Nature
 “of a Fisher-Town, belonging to the *Portuguese*, who
 “in their Hearts were our Friends, that the Winning
 “of it, after so eminent a Place as *Cadiz*, could add no
 “Honour, and if it should be carried, yet it would be
 “the Loss of his best Troops, and Gentlemen, who
 “would rather desire to die, than to receive the Indig-
 “nity of a Repulse. My Lord of *Essex*, much against
 “his Will, was forced to yield to these Reasons, and
 “desist from that Enterprize.

“ABOUT this Time, there was a general Complaint,
 “for Want of Victuals which proceeded rather out of
 “a Desire that Some had to be at home, than out of
 “any Necessity: For Sir *William Monson*, and Mr.
 “*Dorrel* were appointed to examine the State of every
 “Ship, and found seven Weeks Provisions, (Drink
 “excepted,) which might have been supplied from the
 “Shore

“ Shore in Water, and this put the Generals in great
 “ Hopes to perform Something more than They had
 “ done. The only Service that was now to be thought
 “ on, was lying in Wait for the Carracks, which in
 “ all Probability could not escape Us, tho’ there were
 “ many Doubts to the Contrary; But easily answered
 “ by Men of Experience; Yet, in Truth, some Mens
 “ Desires homewards were so great, that no Reason
 “ could prevail with, or persuade Them.

“ COMING into the Height of the Rock, the Ge-
 “ nerals took Council once again, and then the Earl of
 “ *Essex*, and the Lord *Thomas* only offered, and that
 “ with great Earnestness, to stay out the Time their
 “ Victuals lasted, and desired to have but twelve Ships
 “ furnished out of the Rest, to stay with Them: But this
 “ would not be granted, tho’ the Squadron of the *Hol-*
 “ *landers* offered voluntarily to stay. Sir *Walter Raleigh*
 “ alledged the Scarcity of Victuals, and the Infection
 “ of his Men. My Lord General *Essex* offered, in the
 “ Greatness of his Mind, and the Desire He had to
 “ stay, to supply his Want of Men, and Victuals, and
 “ to exchange Ships; But all Proposals were in vain;
 “ For the Riches of *Cadix* kept Them that had got
 “ much, from attempting more, as if it had been pure
 “ Want, and not Honour, would have enforced Them
 “ to greater Enterprizes.

“ THIS being the last of all the Hopes of the Voyage,
 “ and being generally opposed, it was concluded to steer
 “ away to the *North Cape*, afterwards, to view, and
 “ search the Harbours of the *Greyne*, and *Ferrel*;
 “ And if any of the King of *Spain*’s Ships chanced to
 “ be there, to give an Attempt upon Them.

“ THE Lord Admiral sent a Caravel of our Fleet
 “ into those two Harbours, and apparelled the Men in
 “ *Spanish* Cloaths to avoid Suspicion; This Caravel
 “ returned

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“ returned the next Day, with a true Relation, that
 “ there were no Ships in the Harbours ; And now, pas-
 “ sing all the Places where there was any Hope of do-
 “ ing Good, our Return for *England* was resolved on,
 “ and, the eighth of *August*, the Lord Admiral arrived
 “ at *Plymouth*, with the greatest Part of the Army ; And
 “ the Lord General *Essex*, two Days after, who stayed
 “ to accompany the *St. Andrew*, which He undertook
 “ the Charge of, and was reputed of his Squadron.
 “ The tenth of *August*, He came to *Plymouth*, where
 “ he found the Army in that perfect Health, as the
 “ like hath not been seen, for so many to go out of
 “ *England*, and succeed in so great an Enterprize, and
 “ to return home again so well.

“ He himself rode up to Court to advise with her
 “ Majesty of the Winning of *Calais*, which the *Spa-*
 “ *niards* took the *Easter* before. Here was a good
 “ Opportunity to have regained the ancient Patrimony
 “ of *England* ; But the King of *France* withstood it,
 “ thinking with more Ease to regain it from the *Spa-*
 “ *niard*, that was his Enemy, than, recover it from Us,
 “ who were his Friends.

“ My Lord Admiral, with the Fleet, went to the
 “ *Downs*, where He landed, and left the Charge of the
 “ Navy to Sir *Robert Dudley*, and Sir *William Monson*.
 “ In going from thence to *Chatham*, They endured
 “ more foul Weather, and contrary Winds, than in
 “ the whole Voyage besides.

A MINUTE of the COUNCIL's Letter to the Lord AD-
 MIRAL, *August* 11. 1596 (a).

“ AFTER our hearty Commendations to your
 “ good Lordship, We have, before this Time,
 “ by her Majesty's Direction, written unto your
 “ Lordship,

(a) M. S. in Bibl. Cott.

“ Lordship, and to the Earl of *Effex* now returned,
 “ how ill Her Majesty - - - to hear of so much
 “ taken, and so ill a - - - coming, like to be
 “ made Her, wherein by her Majesty's own Letter
 “ You may perceive, what Course the Earl hath taken
 “ in his Answer. So because her Majesty's own Writ-
 “ ing hath sufficiently touched it, to which both the Earl,
 “ and We all, in general, and particular, made the
 “ best Answers We could, We do forbear any farther
 “ to meddle with the same, and, will briefly set down
 “ what it is which her Majesty desireth to be done, if it
 “ be well, and providently considered, and so used.

“ FIRST, her Majesty would have your Lordship,
 “ by all Means possible, to see good Search made of all
 “ Ships, and all Passengers whatsoever, that are come,
 “ or to return, according to Her Majesty's Commission,
 “ to the Intent that both such Things of Price, and
 “ Value as are brought home, may serve to bear the
 “ Burthen of the Charge : And also, that all such Vic-
 “ tuals as, in the whole Army, may be recovered, may
 “ be preserved to set forth such a Proportion of Ships as
 “ shall be fit to lie for the Carracks, or *West-Indian*
 “ Fleet, as You shall think good in your Discretion,
 “ according to her Majesty's own Letter.

“ AND whereas your Lordship calleth for Money
 “ to pay the Mariners, without shewing what Quan-
 “ tity You mean, You must give us Leave to remem-
 “ ber You, as one of her Majesty's Generals, like as
 “ her Majesty hath objected it here to the Earl of
 “ *Effex*, that when that great Reckoning was suspected
 “ to prove burdensome, You made so light of any such
 “ Suspicion, as You in a Manner warranted the defray-
 “ ing of all such Reckonings, without any Manner
 “ of Advantage. And, therefore, as her Majesty hath
 “ objected this unto the Earl of *Effex*, so are We com-
 “ manded

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"manded to do to You, that if good Search be made
"of the Ships, it will be found, that both the Cap-
"tains, Masters, and Officers, of all Ships, have Pil-
"lage enough to bear each Ship's Charge, which if it
"be, there is no Reason the Queen should give Them
"Wages, and suffer Them to carry such Pillage too,
"beyond all Reason, and Order. And therefore, it is
"Her Majesty's Pleasure, that upon good Search and
"View thereof, it be considered which Way will be
"most profitable for the Queen, either to pay Them,
"or to take that which is so indirectly embezzled by
"Them. Wherein her Majesty meaneth not any
"such Trash, and petty Matters, (as Garments, and
"other Things fit for Soldiers, and Mariners in like
"Cases) but gross Commodities, Wares and other
"Merchandize, of which Money may be made, to-
"wards the common Charge.

"For the dismissing now of Mariners, and bringing
"about of Ships, your Lordship's Judgment can best
"tell what is to be done. Only this We must remem-
"ber to You, That where the Fleet is compounded
"of Mariners of divers Countries, if You dismiss any,
"or shall send any to go forth for the Carracks, it
"shall be fit, that You suffer Them which be of those
"Countries, *Westward*. For seeing yourself well knows
"that the Ships, that are to be brought about, will not
"require such Complement as they have for Service,
"it will be a needless Charge for Them, to be kept in
"Pay, or those Mariners used to bring up those
"Ships, when They might have Allowance for Con-
"duct-Money to return back again. For the Men,
"which Her Majesty thought to use in *Ireland*, She
"now sees it not convenient to use Those, at this Time,
"but would have Them all sent to their Countries, ac-
"cording to such Direction, as She hath caused the
"Earl,

" Earl, in her Name, to send unto You. For those
 " which have served, and come out of the *Low-Coun-*
 " *tries*, She will also have Them returned, and paid there,
 " and thinks that the Admiral of *Holland* will help,
 " with his Ships, to carry some of Them, seeing They
 " shall be so acceptable to the *States*, who have so ear-
 " nestly entreated for Them. For Money for any of
 " those Charges, belonging to the Land-Soldiers, the
 " Earl says, He hath left Order with the Marshal,
 " whom your Lordship may call unto You, with all
 " Others, according to your Commission, and direct
 " Them accordingly. And so We think it meet that
 " your Lordship should call, and command any Per-
 " son, whom You shall think meet to assist You with
 " any Service now, to come to the Setting out of the
 " Ships, to go forward to intercept the Carracks. Her
 " Majesty would have all Victuals used that is there,
 " in all Ships more than to bring Them about: And
 " therein thinks *Darrell* shall fail of his Duty, if having
 " victualled such an - - - of the - - - ing
 " come home before the Time, on - - - had
 " at *Cadix*, and *Ferrol*, such a refreshing, He shall
 " not be able to draw out a Proportion for those twelve
 " Ships to be sent out: And rather than fail, to that
 " shall be allowed a Surplusage of Victuals, to make
 " Them tarry out two Months of new Charge. So
 " desirous We find her Majesty to be, to have some
 " Adventure for the Fleet to return, which surely if
 " your Lordship can order, her Majesty will take it
 " a good Part of Service. And for the Ships, Numbers,
 " and Commanders, not doubting but You will use
 " good Choice of valiant Men, She doth refer it to
 " your Lordship, who may use the Advice of Those
 " whom You think best acquainted with the Sea-
 " Service. You shall also deal with the Marshal to per-
 " suade

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"suade the *Low-Country-Ships*, if any there be, that
 "are ready victualed for a long Time, that They will,
 "with Part of their Fleet, tarry out some of the Time
 "with her Majesty's Fleet, or at least help some of
 "your Fleet, with some of their Victuals, for that Pur-
 "pose, wherein her Majesty will undertake the *States*
 "shall not disallow of Them in their Action. The
 "Queen hath written to the Admiral here inclosed
 "a very affectionate Letter, whereof this is the Copy,
 "which We also send You.

A COPY of the COUNCIL's Letter to the Lord AD-
 MIRAL, August 13, 1596.

"AFTER our hearty Commendations, We have
 "written by her Majesty's Commendation of
 " - - - - - iuges more than - - - - -
 "considering that by Sir *Walter Raleigh* We understand
 "that You were afore *Portland*, and now by your own
 "Letters, that You are at *Downs*, which, for the pre-
 "sent, this is her Majesty's Pleasure that You do dis-
 "patch away Sir *Francis Vere* forthwith into the *Low-*
 "*Countries*, with her Troops, or as many, not ex-
 "ceeding that Number, as there may be had. For
 "any other Thing belonging to the Land, the Earl of
 "*Essex* says He has taken sufficient Order with Sir
 "*Francis Vere*. But for the Pay of the Mariners,
 "which your Lordship writes for; and for the not tar-
 "rying out of the Carracks, which the Earl offered to
 "do, and would have left his Ship for any Body else to
 "perform, her Majesty remains now fully unsatisfied,
 "neither will almost hear any contrary Arguments,
 "and especially, because She thinks, that amongst so
 "many Ships returned victualed for so long Time, at
 "the least six of her Majesty's Ships, and some half
 VOL. II. C c "score

“ score Others, might have been victualed well enough
“ out of the Remains, with some Addition, the rather,
“ because the Carracks are countermanded (as the Earl
“ says) to the Islands, which might retard their coming
“ home so speedily. And for the *West-Indian* Fleet,
“ it never comes home till the Midst of *September*, or
“ *October*, as it seems by the Earl’s Speeches You have
“ had Intelligence. For all which her Majesty says,
“ that altho’ it will be said, that so few would hardly
“ serve the Turn, yet her Majesty commandeth us
“ to write, that it were strange if They should not
“ serve to gather up some of Them, considering how
“ They return, scattered, and weak, homeward always.

“ BESIDES the Payment of the Mariners, her Ma-
“ jesty is informed, that there be many Masters of the
“ Ships, and Captains in Ships, so well furnished, as,
“ if They be well sifted, and searched, They have
“ enough to pay the whole Ship’s Companies. Of all
“ which Searches and Certificates with Victuals They
“ brought in, that her Majesty may judge why her
“ Desire for the sending out of some Ships, might not
“ be fulfilled: Her Majesty says She sees no Manner
“ of particular good Reason, nor Certificate from You
“ of all these Things. We are commanded to certify
“ You, though We know your Lordship will be able,
“ when you come personally, which the sooner it be,
“ the better it shall be, to give good Account, tho’ now,
“ by your coming by Sea, and her Majesty writing di-
“ vers Letters, by Land, Things cannot be so particu-
“ larly answered by You. And hereunto, this must We
“ add also, by Command, that her Majesty says, She
“ never thought but at Sea, and since your coming into
“ Harbour, considering what You promised Her, and
“ that You had equal Authority, a better Reckoning
“ should be made to receive Things, both for the Charge
“ past

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"past, and to come. For Powder also, and for all
 "Things out of her Store, her Majesty requireth You,
 "that no Negligence may be used: But that Punish-
 "ment may be inflicted upon any that embezzle it.

"LASTLY, her Majesty hears that Brass Ordnance
 "is given away also, to the *Flemings*, and Others:
 "which if it be, her Majesty thinks also very much,
 "considering that for ought She hears, that is the best
 "Reckoning She must look for, towards her so insup-
 "portable Charge.

"HULST is gone, and carried by the Cardinal, af-
 "ter many Assaults. It were Time Sir *Francis Verd's*
 "Troops were there. As yet her Majesty hears
 "not that the Commissioners have saved a Farthing
 "for Her.

A Copy - - - - -
 - - - GEORGE and - - - - -

"AFTER our hearty Commendations, her Ma-
 "jesty hath of late received by divers, that are
 "come from the Fleet, Assurance of the Army's going
 "to *Bayon*, in *Galicia*: whereby her Majesty hath
 "Cause to suspect, according to the former Reports
 "from the General, that they do find Themselves in
 "Case to lie for the Carracks, or *West-Indian* Fleet,
 "which Purpose was one of the principallest Things
 "to be performed, in the End of this Voyage. And
 "therefore, We find her Majesty most willing to
 "strain Herself, by any Means likely, to supply their
 "Wants, with Victuals. Which if they had, there
 "is no doubt but They would have resolved to abide
 "it out: For so We know Themselves determined.
 "And therefore, not knowing how soon They may
 "return, and holding it uncertain, whether, or how,
 "to send unto Them, Provisions, if We had Them,

" her Majesty hath commanded us, to direct our Letters
 " unto You, to enter presently into Consideration how
 " some Proportion might be provided, for some convenient
 " Number of Ships, for two Months, to the Intent,
 " that if her Majesty's whole Army, and Navy, should
 " return, there may be selected some eight or ten of
 " her Majesty's Ships, together with twelve other, such
 " as may be made ready to put again to Sea, if They
 " come in, to abide the Time of the Return of those
 " Fleets. And if it should prove so, that the greatest
 " Part of the Army should return, as was first appointed,
 " and leave some Ships behind Them, then the Victuals,
 " so provided, may be sent unto Them that remain
 " to be needful for their better Maintenance,
 " at Sea. Forasmuch as, therefore, Ye are acquainted
 " with victualling of Ships, and You, Mr. Darrell,
 " can best make Judgment, in what State You left the
 " Fleet, and what Kind of Victuals is most scanty,
 " We are commanded to require You, in her Majesty's
 " Name, immediately to certify Us what You know of
 " all these Things, and to consider farther, what may
 " likely be effected in this Matter, by Provision to be
 " made in that Place. Besides, it would be considered,
 " whether any Ships, belonging to Merchants, these
 " already furnished for Sea-Voyages with Victuals,
 " might not be stayed to serve this present Turn,
 " and satisfied hereafter. And farther, because
 " her Majesty is like to have Occasion forthwith
 " to send some of those Forces into *Ireland*, which
 " are in the Army, the Number of a Thousand, or
 " upward; And that from *Chester*, and the Countries
 " thereabouts, all those Numbers, which have already
 " been employed in that Service have been victualled
 " in such Sort, that it is not from those Parts to be
 " expected; These shall be to require You also, if You
 " find

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" find the great Matter not possible, being that which
" her Majesty greatly affects, and for which her Ma-
" jesty will well allow of your Industry, that You will
" consider, how some such Provision may be made for
" those Numbers, for all which, as We shall under-
" stand from You, that there is any Cause, You shall
" be assisted with like Commissions, as are used in such
" Cases: And upon your Writing unto Us, You shall
" have Order for Money for all. You may by speak-
" ing with such . . . from the Fleet, inform Your-
" selves of what Victuals They most need; For We see
" the Queen resolved to do any Thing that may furnish
" Them for that Action of intercepting the Carracks,
" for which as yet there is Time enough left Them.
" If They should come in, You shall do well to call
" unto You the Mayor of the Town, and to use the
" Advice, and information of such Gentlemen, as are
" of greatest Credit, and experience, of the State of the
" Country. And above all Things, see that You do
" use some nimble Pinnace, and direct Him how to
" find the Fleet, that They may know her Majesty's
" Purpose, whilst the Victuals are making ready, and
" send in that Pinnace some discreet Person, that may
" soonest find Them. And so We commit You to
" God. From the Court, the 6th of August, 1596."

The vast Losses sustained by Philip in the Sackage
of so considerable a Place as Cadix, and the Destruc-
tion of a rich and powerful Fleet, were Mortifications
which made a deep Impression on a Mind inflamed
with Pride, Ambition, and Resentment. Eager to in-
vade the Territories of Elizabeth, and repair, by some
important Victory, the Insults which He had received
within his own Dominions, He not only assembled the
Remainder of his Navy, but by hiring a Multitude
of Vessels from the *Italians*, equipped a large, and

formidable *Armada*, which sailed (7) from *Lisbon* to receive on Board the Troops then waiting at *Farida*, and, soon after the Embarkation, was ordered to proceed for *England*. The Enterprizes of the *Spaniards* were still destined to become unfortunate. On the Passage, a violent Storm arose, during which the greatest Number of their Ships were lost, and the Remainder so damaged, and dispersed, that until the Expiration of the Year, They did not possess a Navy sufficient for the Purposes of War. When the *Queen* received the News of the Disasters suffered by the Fleet, She did not even know that it had sailed from *Spain*. Although secure from all immediate Attacks, She was too prudent to neglect, even for a Moment, the necessary Means of Defence against the future Hostilities of an implacable, and persevering Foe, and, therefore, gave Directions that the Castles of *Sandsfort*, *Portland*, *Hurst*, *Southsea*, *Calshot*, *Saint Andrew's* and *Saint Maudis's*, Places where the *Spaniards* could have landed with the least Difficulty, might be instantly, and effectually fortified (8).

In this Year, Sir *Anthony Shirley*, Knight, engaged in an Expedition to the Island of *Saint Thomas*. The Ships employed were the *Bonice*, Admiral, of the Burthen of three hundred Tons; the *Galleon*, Vice-Admiral, of the Burthen of two hundred, and forty Tons; the *George*, Rear Admiral, of the Burthen of one hundred, and sixty Tons; the *Archangel*, of the Burthen of two hundred, and fifty Tons; the *Swan*, of the Burthen of two hundred Tons; the *George-Noble*, of the Burthen of one hundred, and forty Tons; the *Wolf*, of the Burthen of seventy Tons; the *Mermaid*, of the Burthen of one hundred, and twenty Tons; and the

(7) A. D. 1596.

(8) Camden, p. 594.

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Little-John, a Galley, of the Burthen of forty Tons.

These, together with a Pinnace, all victualled for ten Months, and manned with nine hundred Sailors, and Soldiers, departed, on the twenty-third of April, from *Hampton*, and, in the Week following, arrived at *Plymouth*, where the Fleet, under the joint Command of the Lord *Howard*, and the Earl of *Effex*, was preparing to sail for *Cadiz*. To these Officers, Sir *Anthony* resigned three of his Ships, and five hundred Soldiers; a considerable Diminution of his Force, and which compelled him to abandon his Design of plundering the *Madeiras*, previous to his Arrival, at the Island of *Saint Thomas*.

On the twenty-first of May, *Shirley* proceeded from *Plymouth*, with the *Bevice*, the *Galloon*, the *George*, the *George-Noble*, the *Wolf*, the *Little-John*, and the Pinnace. At his Approach, on the twenty-seventh of the same Month towards the Coast of *Spain*, He cruized at a small Distance from the Shore, in Expectation of intercepting some Vessels, in the Service of *Philip*. After a long, and fruitless Delay, He changed his Course, and sailed for the *Canaries*. On his Passage thither, He took a Fly-Boat, of the Burthen of two hundred Tons, bound to *Brasil*, and freighted only with Provisions. Her Pilot, by Birth a *Fleming*, embraced, with Pleasure, the Offer of Employment from the *English*, and undertook to conduct their Fleet to the Island of *Saint Thomas*.

Having watered at the *Canaries*, these Adventurers, yielding to the Persuasions of the Pilot, proceeded towards the Islands of *Cape Verde*, in Hopes of meeting with the Ships, from *Saint Thomas*, which as the Year was almost expired, were imagined to be then upon their Voyage. On the first of July, They fell in with the Island of *Mais*, but received no Tidings of the

Enemy.

Enemy. They next reached the Island of *Saint Jago*, and, on the thirtieth of August, disembarked at *Praia*, where they seized a small Vessel, freighted with Wine, and Meal. The Inhabitants appeared, at first, determined to oppose their Progress, but, at length, retired, and without attempting to resist, allowed the *English* to enter within the Town, and Fort, the last of which was provided with eight Pieces of cast Artillery.

As the Plunder at *Praia* had been inconsiderable, the *English* resolved to attack the Town of *Saint Jago*, which was situated, at the Distance of six Leagues, on the opposite Side of the Island, and defended by three Fortresses, which overlooked the different Streets within the Place. On this arduous Enterprize, Sir *Anthony* marched, towards the Close of the Evening, at the Head of two hundred and eighty Soldiers. During the Night, They missed their Road, but, at Day-break, perceived the Town, which could only be approached by a steep, and narrow Descent, forming a Kind of Trench, along which it was impossible for two Persons to walk abreast. Above were Cliffs, the Tops of which were crowded, like all the Country, between the *English*, and the Town, with Men in Arms.

It was evident that the Enemy, feigning to be affrighted, intended to decoy their Assailants into the Trench, from whence it was impossible to retreat, and, then, surround Them on every Side. Not intimidated by these apparent Dangers, the *English* pressed forward, and were severely galled by Volleys of Stones discharged from the adjoining Cliffs. They still proceeded on their Way, when, being attacked by Multitudes in the Rear, They faced about, and, in a short Skirmish, defeated their Pursuers. Soon afterwards, They reached the Town, and the Troops preparing to oppose their Entrance. A second Conflict

now

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now took Place; the Captain of the Enemy was slain; and his Followers, dispirited at the Loss, betook Themselves to Flight, leaving the *English* in Possession of the Town, and lower Forts.

Improving his Success, Sir *Anthony* gave Orders that all the Streets should be barricaded, and put into the best Posture of Defence. The upper Fort was still in the Possession of the *Portuguese*, who kept up an incessant Fire, during which, although two hundred, and forty of their Men were slain, no less than eighty of the *English* were either killed, or wounded. The Forces of the Enemy were, soon afterwards, increased to three thousand, when Sir *Anthony*, despairing of Safety from the Continuance of an Attack, which the Remainder of his Associates, reduced nearly to the last Extremity, seemed anxious to decline, took Measures for an immediate, and honourable Retreat. At Ten, in the Evening, the Ships, and Forts in the Possession of the *English*, began to fire, with great Fury, against the upper Fort, defended by the Enemy, who, on this Occasion, drew together, for its Protection, the whole Body of the Troops. When the Soldiers appointed to guard the Shore had retired from their Posts, the Boats belonging to the *English* put off to receive Sir *Anthony*, and his Men, who, by a well-timed Stratagem, and, without farther Loss, regained the Fleet, and previous to their Departure, seized a Vessel which was richly laden with Cloth, Wine, and other Articles.

From *Saint Jago*, They sailed to the Island of *Fuego*, of which, altho' its only Produce was Water, They took a formal Possession, and remained there until the twentieth of September. On the seventeenth of October, They arrived at the Island of *Saint Dominica*, in the *West-Indies*, and (as the Crews of the different Ships

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Snips were extremely weak, and sickly,) did not depart from thence, until the twenty-fifth of November following.

From *Dominica*, They proceeded to *Margarita*, but were too late to obtain Pearls. On their Passage from this Island, to *Cape de la Vega*, their Fly-Boat was stranded at *Buenos Aires*, and some of the Men were lost. Coasting along the Shore from *Cape de la Vega* towards *Saint Martha*, They took a small Frigate, the Lading of which consisted of Guinea-Corn, Linen, Cloth, Chinese-Silk, and five hundred Pounds in Money. All of these Articles Sir *Anthony* bestowed upon his Men, in grateful Consideration of the Hardships which They had suffered.

Arriving on the twelfth of December, at *Saint Martha*, They disembarked near a sandy Bay, and at the Distance of two Leagues, *Westward* from the Town. On their March thither, They were frequently attacked by the Enemy who, notwithstanding, constantly retreated, and, at one Pass, left behind two Pieces of Cannon. After these Skirmishes, the *English*, unresisted, took Possession of the Town, and held it until the first of January following, when abstaining from Plunder, They resigned it to the old Inhabitants.

From *Saint Martha*, They proceeded towards *Jamaica*, but missing their Course were obliged to sail round the Island, an Event which, until that Period, had never happened. Here the *Wolf*, together with the small Bark which had been taken at *Saint Jago*, departed privately from the Fleet, and returned to *England*. On the twenty-ninth of January, Sir *Anthony* arrived in the Road of *Jamaica*, and, disembarking, marched, at the Head of his Men, to the chief Town, six Miles within the Country, where the Inhabitants appeared on Horseback, as if preparing to oppose Them, yet soon retreated, and declined engaging.

The

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 395

The *English*, without Difficulty, became Masters of the Town, and Island, and the People, at once submitting, flocked round, in Multitudes, and presented Them with large Quantities of dried Beef, *Cassavi* Meal, and other Necessaries. On the second of March, when the Fleet was in Readiness to depart, Captain *William Parker* entered the Road, in his Ship's Boat, and, at an Interview with Sir *Anthony*, agreed to sail with Him to the Bay of *Honduras*, at which Place They expected to discover a considerable Booty.

The Account of the Enterprize of these Commanders must be reserved for another Place. It will, here, be sufficient to remark that They were separated, and that Sir *Anthony* formed a Design of sailing, with the *Bevice*, and the *Galleon*, to *Newfoundland*, and, (having there increased his Crew, and procured a Stock of fresh Provisions,) of proceeding to the Streights of *Magellan*, and from thence, to the *East-Indies*.

On the thirteenth of May, when the whole Fleet stood athwart the *Havannah*, Sir *Anthony* directed the *George* to depart immediately, with his Letters, for *England*. This Ship was, soon afterwards, followed by the Rest, which, without Permission, or the Assignment of any plausible Reason, deserted from their Admiral, whose Difficulties were now increased almost beyond the Prospect of Relief. His Stores were nearly expended; the Crew, not one of whom had ever sailed to those Parts, were at a Loss for Means to shun the Dangers which surrounded Them; the Ship was driven violently by the Current, and the adjoining Shore beset with Rocks, and Quicksands: Yet so fortunate was the *Bevice*, that, on the fifteenth of June, when the Allowance of Provision could not have lasted during another Day, She arrived, in Safety, at *Newfoundland*. After having waited at this Place, until the twenty-fourth

The

fourth of the same Month, in fruitless Expectation of the *Galleon*, with which Sir *Anthony* (s) intended to sail for the *East Indies*, He returned to *England*, and, more through Necessity, than Inclination, put a Period to a Voyage which had chiefly been remarkable for the Misfortunes that attended it (t).

In this Year, also, three Ships, named the *Bear*, the *Bear's Whelp*, and the *Benjamin* were fitted out chiefly at the Expence of Sir *Robert Dudley*, who directed their Commander (u) to receive on Board, *Richard Allot*, and *Thomas Bremfield*, Merchants of *London*, and intrusted with Letters of Recommendation from *Elizabeth*, to the Emperor of *China*. The Design of these Adventurers, was to penetrate into the remotest Parts of the *East*. That their Enterprize was unsuccessful is the only Circumstance which can absolutely be relied on. Of the ultimate Fate of the Ships, We have not the least Account, and the Misfortunes of the Crew are so obscurely, and even fabulously mentioned in a Letter (x) intercepted by the *English*, that We chuse rather to submit the Particulars of it to the Opinion of the Reader, than insert Them as a Series of established Facts.

(s) This brave Adventurer, who was the second Son of Sir *Thomas Shirley*, of *Wiston*, in *Sussex*, travelled afterwards to *Persia*, from whence, in the Year, one Thousand, six Hundred, and Twelve, He returned to *England*, in the Character of Ambassador from the *Sophy*. By the Emperor, He was advanced to the Dignity of Count; the King of *France* conferred on Him the Order of *Saint Michael*; and in *Spain* (where he died, in the Year, one Thousand six Hundred, and Thirty-one at an advanced Age.) He was made a Knight of *Saint Jago*, and Admiral of the *Levant Sea*.

(t) Hackluyt. Part 3. P. 598.

(u) Captain Wood.

(x) Addressed to the King of *Spain*, dated from *Puerto Ricco*, on the first of October, in the Year one Thousand, six Hundred, and One, and written by the Licentiate *Alcázar de Villa Senor*, Auditor of the royal Court of *Santo Domingo*, Judge of Commission in *Puerto Ricco*, and Captain General of *New Andalusia*.

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It is averred that three *English* Ships, the *Bear*, the *Bear's Whelp*, and the *Benjamin*, intercepted the like Number of *Portuguese* Vessels, (at that Period, in the Service of the King of *Spain*;) and out of One, which had sailed from *Goa*, took a valuable Jewel, designed for *Philip*, together with many rich Articles of Merchandize, and a vast Quantity of Money. Soon afterwards, a dreadful Sickness broke out among the *Eng-lish*, and, its Consequences were so fatal, that, of the Men belonging to the different Ships, but Four survived. These, securing the Plunder, got their Boat in Readiness, and sailed in it to the Island of *Unia*, at the Distance of three Leagues from *Puerto-Rico*.

On their Arrival at this Place, They conveyed the Goods ashore, and remained for some Time upon the Spot, afraid of a Detection, and unacquainted with the Means of finding a Subsistence. At length, it was agreed by three of these Adventurers to proceed to *Puerto-Rico*, for a Supply of Water. Scarcely had They parted from their Associate, than, in Resentment for their supposed Desertion, He sought out the *Spaniards*, and informed Them of the Treasure which was concealed, and the Place to which the Plunderers resorted.

The *English* were now visited by a small Body of the *Spaniards*, who, protesting that their Designs were friendly, seduced them into a Resignation of their Booty, and, having equally distributed amongst the whole Company the largest Portion of the Money, took Care to hide in the most secret Recesses of the Island, the Gold, the Jewels, and the Plate. Some silver Bars, and other Articles of less considerable Value were artfully reserved to be produced in Confirmation of a Report with which They were determined to deceive the Governor. To prevent Discoveries, and engross the Treasure to Themselves, They, next, in Violation of their Promise, attacked three of the *English*, and murdered

dered two, but could not prevent the third from making his Escape. On their Return to *Puerto Rico*, They found Means to destroy by Poison the Man from whom They had received the first Intelligence of the Plunder.

When the *Spaniards* related their Adventure at *Ullas* to the Governor, They declared on Oath that the Bars of Silver, and the few Goods which were then produced, composed the Whole of the Effects which They had been able to discover, and that, previous to the Acquisition of the Treasure, They were, unwillingly, compelled to slay the Plunderers who, by Force of Arms, endeavoured to retain it.

This Report might have gained Credit, if the surviving *Englishman*, who swam from *Ullas*, to *Puerto Rico*, on a Log of Wood, had not detected the base Imposture of the *Spaniards*. They were conveyed to Prison, and soon afterwards, broke loose from their Confinement. The Letter, from which these Particulars are taken, neither mentions for what Fate the *Englishman* was reserved, nor informs us whether the *Spaniards* escaped from Justice, or received a Punishment proportioned to their Guilt (y).

At the Commencement of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety-seven, *Elizabeth*, received Advice that her great Adversary, the King of *Spain*, relying on the Advantages to be expected from his separate Peace with *France*, had assembled the shattered Remains of that Fleet to which the Expedition against *Cadix* had proved so fatal, and marched his Troops to *Ferrol*, and the *Groyne*, at which Places it was determined that They should embark, and make a formidable Descent in *Ireland*. The Queen, resolved to frustrate the Execution of this Enterprize, and destroy the Navy within the *Spanish* Ports, gave Orders that a powerful Squadron;

(y) Purchas. V. 1. p. 110.—Harris's Coll. V. 1. p. 47. Lediard's naval History, Folio, V. 1. p. 352.

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Squadron, together with a considerable military Force, should immediately prepare for Action.

The Troops employed on this Occasion amounted to more than six thousand Men, of which five thousand were newly levied, and the rest Veterans, conducted out of the *Netherlands* by Sir Francis Vere. With These, arrived five Hundred Knights, Captains and Gentlemen, who brought with Them ten Pieces of Artillery, and obtained Permission from *Elizabeth* to serve as Volunteers (a). The Fleet consisted of an hundred, and twenty Ships, of which nineteen belonged particularly to *Elizabeth*. Forty-three were smaller Men of War, and the rest Viduallers, and Tenders (a).

The following List is taken from the Papers of a naval Writer (b).

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.
THE <i>Mary Hamra</i> , after in the <i>Repulse</i> .	The Earl of <i>Essex</i> , and under Him, Sir <i>Robert Mansfield</i> (c).
<i>Lion</i> .	The Lord <i>Thomas Howard</i> .
<i>Warspite</i> .	Sir <i>Walter Raleigh</i> .
<i>Garland</i> .	The Earl of <i>Southampton</i> .
<i>Defiance</i> .	The Lord <i>Montjoy</i> .
<i>Mary Rose</i> .	Sir <i>Francis Vere</i> .
<i>Hops</i> .	Sir <i>Richard Levison</i> .
<i>Matthew</i> .	Sir <i>George Carew</i> .
<i>Rainbow</i> .	Sir <i>William Monson</i> .
<i>Emmaventure</i> .	Sir <i>William Harvey</i> .
<i>Dreadnought</i> .	Sir <i>William Brooke</i> .
<i>Swiftsure</i> .	Sir <i>Gilly Merrick</i> .
<i>Antelope</i> .	Sir <i>John Gilbert</i> . He did not, however, go the Voyage.
	<i>Nonpareil</i> .

(a) Account of the Expedition, written by Sir Arthur Gorges. Purchas. V. i. p. 1935.

(a) Camden. V. 3. p. 737, 738.

(b) Sir William Monson. M. S. in Bibl. Cotton.

(c) Mansel.—Monson's printed Tracts.

Nonpareil. Sir Thomas Vauxsar.

Saint Andrew. Captain Throgmorton.

It is more than probable that these Ships belonged to Elizabeth, and were either all which She owned in this particular Fleet, or a Part of the seventeen mentioned by other Writers. Concerning the smaller Vessels, the Historian, (d) from whose Tracts the preceding List hath been collected, is intirely silent.

A contemporary Author, (e) who served as Captain during this Enterprize, after having remarked that amongst the whole Fleet, consisting of one hundred, and twenty Sail, sixty of the Ships were Men of War, and the Rest, Victuallers, and Transports, introduces the following List of Vessels belonging to the Queen.

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.
THE <i>Mary Honora.</i> (f)	The Earl of Essex, and under Him, Sir Robert Mansfield.
<i>Due Repulse.</i>	The Lord Thomas Howard, Vice Admiral, and under Him, Captain Middleton.
<i>Warspight.</i>	Sir Walter Raleigh, Rear-Admiral, and under Him, Sir Arthur Gorges.
<i>Garland.</i>	The Earl of Southampton.
<i>Defiance.</i>	The Lord Montjoy on Board, but the Ship commanded by Sir Amias Preston.
<i>Saint Matthew.</i>	Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance.
<i>Mary Rose.</i>	Sir Francis Vere, Marshal, and under Him, Captain John Winter.
<i>Dreadnought.</i>	Captain William Brooke.
<i>Nonpareil.</i>	Sir Richard Levison.
<i>Bonaventure.</i>	Sir William Harvey.
	<i>Antelope.</i>

(d) Sir William Monson.

(e) Sir Arthur Gorges—Purchas, V. 4. p. 1935.

(f) It must be observed that the Name of this Ship is here spelt *Mer Honneur*, and, in other Places, *Honneur de la Mer*.

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<i>Antelope.</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Vasafor.</i>
<i>Rainbow.</i>	<i>Sir William Monson.</i>
<i>Swiftsure.</i>	<i>Sir Gilly Merrick.</i>
<i>Golden Lion.</i>	Was sent after as a Supply.
<i>Hope.</i>	
<i>Foresight.</i>	<i>Sir Carew Reignal.</i>
<i>Saint Andrew.</i>	Captain Throgmorton.
<i>Tramontana.</i>	Captain Fenner, Junior.
<i>Moon.</i>	<i>Sir Edward Michaelbourn.</i>
	(g).

Exclusive of These, were small Pinnaces, belonging to *Elizabeth*, and appointed to attend the Fleet.

To the *English Fleet*, the States of *Holland* added ten of their chief Ships of War, under the Command of the Admiral, Sir *John Van Duvenvoord*, on whom the Honour of Knighthood had been conferred, during the former Enterprize at *Cadiz*. The whole naval Armament was divided into three Squadrons: At the Head of the first was the Earl of *Essex*, Commander in Chief both of the Sea, and Land Forces: Of the second, the Lord *Thomas Howard* was appointed Vice Admiral: And the third was intrusted to the Rear Admiral Sir *Walter Raleigh*. *Charles Blount*, Lord *Mountjoy*, commanded the Troops, under the Earl of *Essex*. Sir

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(g) Howsoever the two Lists may, at the first Glance, appear to disagree, yet, on Examination, the last will not be found contradictory, but only more copious than the former. The Omission is on the Side of Sir *William Monson*, who takes no Notice of the *Foresight*, the *Tramontana*, the *Moon*, and their respective Commanders. He, likewise, passes over the Names of the Captains under the Vice Admiral, the Rear Admiral, and the Marshal. Probably, Some of the Commanders went on Board other Ships, when the Earl of *Essex* exchanged his.—*Leland's naval History*, Fol. V. 1. p. 354.

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Walter Raleigh, Rear-
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 Earl of *Southampton*.
 Lord *Mountjoy* on Board,
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Amias Preflon.
George Carew, Master
 Ordnance.
Francis Vere, Marshal,
 under Him, Captain
Winter.
 in *William Brooke*.
Richard Levifon.
William Harvey.
Antelope.

V. 4. p. 1935.
 Name of this Ship is here
 ces, *Honneur de la Mer*.

Francis Vere acted as Marshal of the Camp; *Sir George Carew*, as Lieutenant of the Ordnance; and *Sir Christopher Blount*, as first Colonel. The Earl of *Rutland*, the Lords *Grey*, *Cromwel*, and *Rich*, with many Knights, and Gentlemen of Distinction, embarked as Volunteers. The impetuous, and gallant *Essex*, again on Fire for Glory, protested that He would either destroy this formidable *Armada*, which menaced Ruin to *Elizabeth*, and her Subjects, or perish in the Attempt (*h*).

On this Occasion, the Instructions were that the Earl of *Essex*, and all Persons under his Command, should, to the utmost of their Power, avail Themselves of every Mean to take, or sink, or burn the *Spanish* Navy in the Harbour of *Ferrol*, and at the *Groyne*. From thence, proceeding to *Terceira*, They were directed to reduce the Place, and either to wait there until the Arrival of the Plate Fleet from *India*, or repair for the Purpose of intercepting it, to an Island of the *Azores*.

On the ninth of July, the *English* sailed from *Plymouth*, but were soon afterwards, driven back into the Ports, by the Violence of a Tempest, which so shattered a great Number of the Ships, that it became necessary to refit Them; and, thus, the next Departure of the Fleet was procrastinated, until the Middle of the Month of August.

Lest the Provisions might be too speedily expended, it was now determined, that the five Thousand Troops which had been newly levied, should be disbanded, and only the one thousand Veterans retained. This Proceeding (with which the Queen concurred) is thus justified by *Essex*, in a Memorial, where, exclusive of his Signature, are those of the Lord *Thomas Howard*,

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(*h*) Camden, V. 3. p. 737, 738.—Ferrer's Hist. de Espagne. P. 15. Sec. 16.—Meteren. Liv. 19. Fol. 403.—Stowe, p. 783.

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Lord Thomas Howard,
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Ferreras Hist. de Espag-
19. Fol. 403.—Stowe,

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 403

the Lord Montjoy, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere,
Sir Christopher Blount, and Sir Anthony Shirley.

"By these Means, although We were disabled from
landing at *Ferral*, to subdue the Troops in that Place,
&c. yet I, the General, offered her Majesty to send
in certain Fire-Ships, and to second Them with the
Saint Matthew, the *Saint Andrew*, some great Fly-
Boats, and the Merchant-Men, by which I would
have destroyed the most of the Enemy's Shipping,
and, also, have left all the Queen's own *English*-built
Ships at the Mouth of the Harbour, to secure our
Retreat. Thus, I should have hazarded to lose no-
thing except two great Carts, which before I had
won, and for the adventuring of those would have
defeated the whole Navy of the Enemy. Which
Advice being allowed, although with Restraint of
my own going in with those two Ships, and an ab-
solute Command not to hazard any other, We went
out the second Time to put the Project in Execu-
tion."

Soon after the next Departure of the Fleet, a second
Tempest, as violent as the first, dispersed several of the
Ships, particularly the *Mary-Honora*, and the *Saint*
Matthew. The former sprang a dangerous Leak, and
the latter would have been dashed upon the Rocks, if
Sir George Carew, and his Officers had not, with equal
Bravery, and Prudence, remained on Board, to com-
pel the Mariners, and Soldiers to perform their Duty
instead of executing their Attempt meanly to relin-
quish the Post of Danger, and hasten from it, in their
Boats (i). When all the Ships, (except the *Saint An-*
drew, which was still missing,) had again assembled,
They proceeded to their destined Course, but hovering
too near the Shores of *Austria*, and *Gallicia*, instead

D d 2

of

(i) Sir Arthur Gorges.

of running in directly to *Ferrol*, and the *Groynes*, gave the *Spaniards* an early Opportunity of discerning their Approach, and preparing for a vigorous Defence. The *English* were in Expectation that the Enemy would have quitted the Harbour, in order to attack Them on the open Sea. They, therefore, brought to, and remained, during some Time, at an inconsiderable Distance from the Shore; but as the *Spaniards* seemed determined to preserve their Station, it was, at length, judged requisite that the Council of War should be advised with, concerning the Possibility of destroying the *Armada* within the Port. The Majority of the Officers were of Opinion that so difficult an Attempt could scarcely be accomplished, and, apprehensive that the Time of intercepting the *Spanish* Vessels, on their Return to *Europe*, with the Treasure, might speedily elapse, insisted on the Necessity of sailing to the *Azores*.

At this Period, the Art of Navigation was so imperfectly understood, that most Ships, proceeding on long Voyages, were fixed, both on their outward bound Passage, and their Return to particular Courses, and Seasons; and the *Indian* Plate-Fleets had their certain Islands, at which They always touched, for Water, and Provisions. Amongst These, were the *Azores*; and thither the *English* Squadrons were directed to repair. With the first, the Earl of *Essex* was to attack *Fayal*; the Operations of the second, under the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Francis Vere*, were to be directed against *Graciosa*; and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was to employ the Third, in the Reduction of the Isle of *Rio*. This Officer, who had sprung his Main-Mast, near *Cape Finisierre*, was absent from the Fleet, when the preceding Resolution had been embraced; but guessing at the Measures to be pursued, departed in the Moment that

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that He had repaired his Loss, for the *Azores*, and joined the Admiral at the Isle of *Flores*.

To this Place, *Raleigh* without the previous Leave of *Essex*, sent his Boats for a Supply of Water; but the Men had scarcely begun to fill the Casks, when Orders were given for the *Warspight*, and her Squadron, to proceed immediately, after the Admiral, to *Fayal*. Here Sir *Walter* arrived the first, and having waited for some Time, without being joined by the Earl of *Essex*, convened the Captains of the Ships, and represented to Them the Necessity of commencing the Attack, lest the Inhabitants, who were already active, should have too much Leisure to prepare for their Defence. It was urged by Sir *Gilly Merrick*, Commander of the *Swiftsure*, that *Raleigh* could not be justified in making the least Attempt, until the Arrival of *Essex*. This Opinion was of some Weight with the Majority, who agreed to a Cessation from Hostilities during four Days, and resolved that if the Earl should not arrive at the Expiration of that Time, They must be warranted in proceeding to the Assault.

In the Morning of the fifth Day, when *Essex* was still absent, Sir *Walter* disembarked, with a considerable Force, at a small Distance from the Haven, and compelled a Body of the *Spaniards*, whose Opposition had been feeble, to betake Themselves to Flight. Having procured a sufficient Quantity of fresh Water, for the Service of the Ships, the *English* marched on, and, unresisted, took Possession of the Town. On the Day following, the Earl of *Essex* entered the Harbour, and, listening to the Insinuations of *Merrick*, (who declared that *Raleigh* had accelerated the Enterprize, on Purpose to deprive his commanding Officer of the Glory which might attend it,) expressed the most violent Displeasure at the Conduct of Sir *Walter*.

The Necessity of punishing at least with Dismission, if not with Death, so flagrant an Offender, as *Raleigh*, (in the Language of his Enemies,) had been termed, was vehemently proposed to *Essex*, who severely charged Him, in the Presence of the Council, with a Neglect of Orders. He apologized for his Conduct, by observing "that the Captains, Pilots, and Others under Command were bound by those Orders, but not the three Generals, of which Himself was One; and that He had expected the Coming of the Earl of *Essex*, during a considerable Time, and would have waited longer, if the Inhabitants of the Place had not denied Him Water, which He wanted to such Extremity, that He was obliged to win it by the Sword."

It is probable that this Excuse, and even the consequent Submission of *Raleigh* would have prevailed but little over the irritated *Essex*; if the Lord *Thomas Howard* had not interposed with his good Offices, and, to Appearance at least, made up the Quarrel. The Captains *Sydney*, *Bret*, *Berry*, and Others, who had been cashiered for concurring in the Attempt at *Fajal*, were, now, restored to their Commands; and *Essex*, although passionate, yet placable, was easily persuaded to dine with *Raleigh*; a Mark of Friendship which, in the Opinion of the Historian (k) who was present, effectually extinguished their mutual Animosities. The future Conduct of *Raleigh* too fatally disproved the Truth of this remark; and We have Reason to believe that, from this Incident, arose that Hatred, and perpetual Opposition which ended only with the Life of *Essex*.

During these Transactions, the Spanish Garrison quitted the Fort, adjoining to the Town, and, soon afterwards, the English took Possession of the Ordnance, and

(l) Sir Arthur George.

(l) Stowe's Annals, p. 783.

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and reduced the Place to Ashes. From *Fayal*, the whole Fleet proceeded to *Graciosa*, (another Island of the *Azores*,) which immediately submitted. It was here that *Essex* intended to have stayed, until the Arrival of the *Spanish* Ships from *India*; but being informed by *Grove*, a Pilot, that the Haven was inconvenient for large Vessels, He sailed, with the greater Part of the Fleet to Saint *Michael's*, leaving Sir *Francis Vere*, and Sir *Nicholas Parker*, to cruize between *Graciosa*, and the Island of Saint *George*, whilst the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *William Monson* took their Station to the Westward of *Graciosa*.

In two Hours from the Departure of *Essex*, the *Indian* Fleet amounting to forty Sail, (whereof seven were laden with Plate,) arrived at *Graciosa*; but being told that the *English* were approaching, bore away for the Island of *Tercera*. During the Passage, three Vessels were separated from the Rest, and taken by Sir *William Monson*, in the *Rainbow*. The Value of the Prizes proved equal to the Charges of the Expedition, and made it less to be lamented that all the other Ships escaped into the safe, and well defended Port of *Angra*, where the *English* were convinced that it was impossible to succeed in their Attempts to take Them, after having fruitlessly endeavoured to crowd into the Haven, with Boats, at Midnight, and cut the Cables of the nearest Vessels, that They might be forced to Sea by the Violence of the Wind, which blew directly from the Shore.

The Earl of *Essex* now returned with his Fleet, to Saint *Michael's*, and, having anchored near *Punta Delgada*, the chief City of the Island, seemed determined to attack it. On a nearer Survey of the Forts, and Garrisons, it was judged hazardous to attempt the Reduction of the Place; and, therefore, the Admiral leaving

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ing Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and his Squadron, to amuse the Enemy with Pretences of Landing, at *Delgada*, proceeded, with the Remainder of the Fleet, to *Villa Franca*, a small Town at the Distance of six Miles, and well supplied with many Articles of Merchandize; but, particularly, Wine, and Wood. Of this Place, after having been faintly opposed, He took Possession, and remained there during five Days, whilst the Soldiers enriched Themselves by Plunder.

Meanwhile, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who waited, with Impatience, for the Return of *Essex* to Saint *Michael's*, descried at Sea an *East-India* Carrack, and a small Vessel from *Brazil*. Soon afterwards, the Commander of a *Dutch* Ship, belonging to the Squadron of *Duvenwoord*, in Contempt of Orders, fired hastily at the Carrack, the Captain of which, discovering that the Enemy was near, stood closer to the Town, from whence the *Spaniards* came out in Boats, and, having secured the Cargo, of an immense Value, set Fire to the Vessel. The *Brazil* Ship was taken by the *English*, and, (proving leaky,) was unladen, and turned adrift.

As their Operations were, in general, unsuccessful, it was determined by *Essex*, and his Officers, to repair to *England*, where They arrived, towards the End of October, after having been separated by a Tempest, which had proved more dangerous to the Fleet of *Philip*, than to Themselves. This restless Adversary had directed a powerful Squadron to sail from *Fariola*, to the Coast of *Cornwall*, where the Troops were to be employed in the Reduction of the adjoining Sea-Ports, and, by endeavouring to keep Possession of Them, to confine the Army of *Elizabeth* at Home, and thus, facilitate the Conveyance of Succours from *Spain*, to *Ireland*. In that destructive Storm, which entirely prevented the Execution of this Enterprize, eighteen capital

Armadas

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Armadas were lost, and several forced into *Dartmouth*, where They were taken, and detained by the *English* (m). We shall conclude the Account of the Expedition under the Earl of *Essex*, to the *Azores*, with the Remarks of Sir *William Monson* (n), an able Officer, and distinguished Actor in the Enterprize.

“ The Lord General having sent some Men of good Account into the Island, (of *Graciosa*,) to see there should be no evil Measures offered to the *Portuguese*, having passed his Word to the Contrary, those Men advertised Him of four Sail of Ships, descried from the Shore; and One of Them shewing greater than the Rest, seemed to be a Carrack; My Lord received great Joy upon this News, and divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, to be commanded by Himself, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*. The next Ship to my Lord of the Queen's was the *Rainbow*, wherein Sir *William Monson* went, who received Direction from my Lord to steer away *South*, that Night, and if He should meet with any Fleet, to follow Them, carrying Lights, shooting off his Ordnance, or any other Sign that He could make: And, if He met with no Ships, to direct his Course, the next Day to the Island of *St. Michael's* but promising, that Night, to send twelve Ships after Him. Sir *William* besought my Lord, by the Pinnace that brought Him this Direction, that above all Things He should have a Care to dispatch a Squadron to the Road of *Angra*, in the *Tercenas*, for it was certain, if They were *Spaniards*, thither They would resort. Whilst my Lord was thus contriving his Business, and ordering his Squadron, a small Bark of his Fleet happened

(m) Cauden. — Stowe. — Speed.

(n) M. B. in Bibl. Cotton.

" happened to come unto Him, who assured Him, that
 " those Ships discovered from the Land were of his own
 " Fleet, for that they came immediately from Them ;
 " This made my Lord countermand his former Direc-
 " tion ; only Sir *William Monson*, who was the next
 " Ship unto him, and received the first Command,
 " could not be recalled back. Within three Hours
 " after his Departure from my Lord, and which might
 " be about twelve of the Clock, He fell in Company
 " of a Fleet of five and twenty Sail, which at first He
 " could not assure Himself to be *Spaniards*, because
 " the Day before, that Number of Ships were missing
 " from our Fleet : Here, He was in a *Dilemma*, and
 " a great Perplexity with Himself : For, in making
 " Signs, as He was directed, if the Ships proved *Eng-
 " lish*, it were ridiculous, and He might be exposed
 " to Scorn ; and to respite it until Morning, were as
 " dangerous, if They were the *Indian Fleet* : For then
 " my Lord might be out of View, or of the Hearing of his
 " Ordnance ; Therefore He resolved, rather to put his
 " Person, than his Ship in Peril. He commanded his
 " Master to keep the Weather-Gage of the Fleet, what
 " soever should become of Him, and it blowing little
 " Wind, He betook himself to his Boat, and rowed up
 " with the Fleet, demanding whence They were. They
 " answered of *Stoile in Spain*, and asked whence He was.
 " He told them of *England* ; and that the Ship in
 " Sight was a Galleon of the Queen's of *England* ; sin-
 " gle, and alone, alleging the Honour They would
 " get by winning Her, and urging Them, with daring
 " Speeches, to chase Her. His Drift was to draw, and
 " entice Them into the Wake of our Fleet, where They
 " would be so intangled as They could not escape.
 " They returned Him some Shot, and ill Language ;
 " but would not alter their Course to the *Terceras*,
 " whither

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 " whither

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" whither They were bound, and where They arrived,
 " to our Misfortune. Sir *William Monson* returned
 " aboard his Ship, making Signs with Lights, and Re-
 " port with his Ordnance, but all in Vain : For my
 " Lord, altering his Course, as You have heard, stood
 " that Night to *St. Michael's*, and passed by the *North*
 " Side of *Tercera*, a farther Way than if he had gone
 " by the Way of *Angra*, where He had met the *India*-
 " Fleet.

" When Day appeared, and Sir *William Monson* was
 " in Hopes to find the twelve Ships promised to be sent
 " Him, He might only discern the *Spanish* Fleet, two
 " Miles, or a little more ahead of Him, and astern of
 " Him a Galleon, and a Pinnace betwixt them. The
 " Galleon putting forth her Flag, He knew Her to
 " be the Earl of *Southampton*, in the *Garland*. The
 " Pinnace was a Frigate of the *Spanish* Fleet, who
 " took the *Garland* and *Rainbow* to be Galleons of
 " theirs ; But seeing the Flag of the *Garland*, She found
 " her Error, and sprung a Loof, thinking to escape ;
 " But the Earl pursued Her, with the Loss of some
 " Time, when He should have followed the Fleet, and
 " therefore was desired to desist from that Chase, by
 " Sir *William Monson*, who sent his Boat to Him.
 " By a Shot from my Lord, this Frigate was sunk ;
 " and whilst his Men were rising Her, Sir *Francis*
 " *Vere*, and Sir *William Brooke* came up in their two
 " Ships, which the *Spaniards* would have made us be-
 " lieve were two Galleons of theirs ; and so much did
 " my Lord signify to Sir *William Monson*, wishing
 " Him to stay their coming up, for that there would
 " be greater Hopes of those two Ships, which no Doubt
 " but We were able to over-master, than of the Fleet,
 " for which We were too weak.

" After

" After Sir *William* had made the two Ships to be
 " the Queen's, which He ever suspected, He began
 " to pursue the *Spanijh* Fleet afresh : But, by Reason
 " They were so far ahead of Him, and had so little
 " Way to sail, They recovered the Road of *Tercera*,
 " whither He, and the Rest of the Ships pursued Them;
 " and Himself led the Way into the Harbour, where
 " He found sharp Resistance from the Castle: But
 " yet, We so battered the Ships, that We might see
 " the Masts of some shot by the board, and of some,
 " the Men quitted the Ships: So that there wanted
 " nothing but a Gale of of Wind, to enable Him to cut
 " the Cable of the Hawfers, and to bring Them off;
 " He, therefore, sent to the other three great Ships of
 " Ours, to desire Them to attempt the Cutting of their
 " Cables: But Sir *Francis Vere* rather wished for his
 " Coming off, that They might take a Resolution
 " what to do: This must rather be imputed to Want
 " of Experience, than Backwardness in Him: For Sir
 " *William* sent Him Word, that if He quitted the
 " Harbour, the Ships would tow near the Castle; and
 " as the Night drew on, the Wind would freshen,
 " and come more off the Land: Which indeed proved
 " so, and We above a League from the Road, in
 " the Morning.

" We may say, and that truly, there was never that
 " Possibility to have undone the State of *Spain*, as now;
 " For every Rial of Plate We had taken in this Fleet
 " had been two against Them, by our converting it
 " by War upon Them.

" No Man can receive Blame hereby, but the Want
 " of Experience in my Lord, and his flexible Nature
 " to be overruled: For, the first Hour that He anchored
 " at *Flores*, and called a Council, Sir *William Monson*
 " advised Him, and upon the Reasons following;

" viz.

the two Ships to be suspected, He began to say: But, by Reason of the Weather, and had so little of the Road of *Tercera*, the Ships pursued Them; in the Harbour, where was the Castle: But that We might see the Board, and of some, that there wanted to enable Him to cut to bring Them off; three great Ships of the Cutting of their other wished for his take a Resolution and imputed to Want of Skill in Him: For Sir if He quitted the near the Castle; and the Wind would freshen, which indeed proved from the Road, in

there was never that of *Spain*, as now; taken in this Fleet our converting it

reby, but the Want of his flexible Nature that He anchored Sir *William Monson* Reasons following;

“ viz.

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“ viz. After his Watering, to run *West*, spreading his Fleet *North*, and *South*, so far as the *Eastern* Wind that then blew, would carry Them; alleging, that if the *Indian*-Fleet came Home that Year, by Computation of the last light Moon, from which Time their Disemboguing in the *Indies*, must be reckoned, They could not be above two Hundred Leagues short of that Island, and whensoever the Wind should chop up *Westerly*, in a few Days, (He bearing a slack Sail) They would overtake Him, if They were to come Home.

“ This Advice my Lord seemed to take: But He was diverted by divers Gentlemen, who, coming principally for Land-Service, found Themselves tired with the Tedioufness of the Sea: It is certain that if my Lord had followed his Advice, within less than forty Hours, He had made the Queen Owner of that Fleet: For, by the Pilot's Card, which was taken in the Frigate, the *Spanish* Fleet was but fifty Leagues in 'Traverse with that *Eastern* Wind, when my Lord was at *Flores*: Which made my Lord wish, the first Time Sir *William Monson* repaired unto Him, after the Escape of the Fleet, that He had lost his Hand, so He had been ruled by Him.

“ Being met aboard Sir *Francis Vere*, as You have heard, He desired to consult, what to do; We resolved to acquaint my Lord with what had happened, desiring his Presence with us, to be an Eye-witness if there were any Possibility to attempt the Shipping, or to surprize the Island, and so possess the Treasure.

“ My Lord received this Advertisement, just as He was ready with his Troops to have landed, in *St Michael's*; But this Message diverted his Landing, and made Him presently cast about for the Island of *Tercera*, where We lay all this while expecting his

“ Coming;

“ Coming ; In his Course from *St. Michael's*, it was his
 “ Hap to take three Ships that departed from the *Havan-*
 “ *nah*, the Day after the Fleet ; which three Ships did
 “ more than contrivail the Expence of the whole
 “ Voyage.

“ At my Lord's Meeting with us, at *Tercera*, there
 “ was a Consultation, how the Enemy's Ships might
 “ be fetched off, or destroyed, as They lay ; But all
 “ Men, with one Consent, declared the Impossibility
 “ of it. The Attempting the Island was then propound-
 “ ed, but withstood for these Reasons ; the Difficulty
 “ in Landing ; the Strength of the Island, which was in-
 “ creased by fourteen, or fifteen hundred Soldiers from
 “ the Ships, and the Want of Viçuals in us to abide
 “ the Siege. Seeing then that We were frustrated of
 “ any Hopes at *Tercera*, We resolved upon Landing at
 “ *St. Michael's*, and arrived in *Punta Delgada*, the chief
 “ City. The Day following, my Lord embarked his
 “ small Army, in Boats, with Offer to land, and hav-
 “ ing thereby drawn their greatest Forces thither to re-
 “ sist Him, suddenly He rowed to *Villa Franca*, three,
 “ or four Leagues distant from Them ; which He took,
 “ it not being defended by the Enemy. The Ships
 “ had Orders to abide in the Road of *Delgada*, for that
 “ my Lord made Account to march thither by Land ;
 “ But being ashore at *Villa Franca*, and the March im-
 “ possible, as He was told, by Reason of the high, and
 “ craggy Mountains, He altered his Purpose.

“ Viçuals now grew short in many Places ; and
 “ my Lord General began discreetly to foresee the
 “ Danger in abiding towards Winter, upon these Coasts,
 “ that could not afford Him a Harbour, but only open
 “ Roads, that were subject to the *Southerly* Winds ;
 “ and upon every such Wind, He must have put to Sea,
 “ for his Safety. He considered that if this should
 “ happen,

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“ happen, when his Troops were on Shore, and He
 “ not able to seize the Land in a Fortnight, or more,
 “ which, is a Thing ordinary, what a desperate Case
 “ He should put Himself into for Want of Viſuals;
 “ and, weighing withal, that He had ſeen the End of
 “ all his Hopes, by the Eſcape of the Fleet, He em-
 “ barked Himſelf, and the Army, tho’ with ſome Dif-
 “ ficulty, as the Seas were now grown ſo high.

“ By this Time, one half of the Fleet, that rode in
 “ *Punta Delgada*, put Room for *Villa Franca*, and Thoſe
 “ which remained behind being imagined, by a Ship
 “ of *Brasil*, to be the *Spaniſh* Fleet, She came in a-
 “ mongſt Them, and was betrayed: After Her, there
 “ followed a Carrack, which had been ſerved in the like
 “ Manner, but for the haſty, and indiſcreet Weigh-
 “ ing of a *Hollander*, that made Her run aſhore under
 “ the Caſtle. When the Wind leſſened, Sir *William*
 “ *Monſon* weighed with the *Rainbow*, thinking to give
 “ an Attempt upon Her, notwithstanding the Caſtle;
 “ which She perceiving, as He drew near unto Her,
 “ She ſet Herſelf on Fire, and burnt down to the
 “ very Keel: She was a Ship of fourteen hundred
 “ Tons, in Burden, that the Year before was not able
 “ to double the Cape of *Bona Eſperanza*, in Her Voyage
 “ to the *East-Indies*, but put into *Brasil*, where She
 “ was laden with Sugars, and thus deſtroyed.

“ The *Spaniards*, preſuming more upon their Ad-
 “ vantages, than Valour, thought Themſelves in too
 “ weak a Condition to follow us to the Iſlands, and put
 “ their Fortunes upon a Day’s Service; They rather
 “ deviſed ſubtilly to intercept us, as We ſhould come
 “ home, when We had leaſt Thought, or Suſpicion
 “ of Them, and the Fleet, that was all this while in
 “ the *Groynes*, and *Ferroll*, not daring to put forth,
 “ whiſt They knew ours to be upon the Coaſt, againſt
 “ the

“ the Time We should return. Their General, the
 “ *Adalantada*, came for *England*, with a Resolution
 “ to land at *Falmouth*, to fortify it, and afterwards,
 “ with their Ships, to keep the Sea, and expect our
 “ coming Home scattered. If they had thus cut off
 “ our Sea-Forces, and possessed the Harbour of *Fal-*
 “ *mouth*, as They proposed, with a second Supply of
 “ seven, and thirty *Levantiscos*, which the Marquis
 “ *D'arumbullo* commanded, They hoped to have a good
 “ Footing in *England*.

“ These Designs of theirs were not foreseen by us ;
 “ for We came Home scattered, as They made Rec-
 “ koning, not twenty in Number together.

“ We may say, and that truly, that God fought
 “ for us ; For the *Adalantada*, being within a few
 “ Leagues of the Island of *Scilly*, had commanded all
 “ his Captains to board Him, to receive his Directions,
 “ and whilst They were busy in Consultation, a most
 “ violent Storm took Them at East, inasmuch that
 “ the Captains could hardly recover their Ships, but
 “ in no Case were able to save their Boats ; The
 “ Storm continued so forceable, that happy was He
 “ that could recover Home ; seeing their Design was
 “ Thus overthrown, by the Loss of their Boats, their
 “ Means of Landing being taken away. Some, that
 “ were more willing to stay, and receive the farther
 “ Directions of the General, than the Rest, kept the
 “ Seas so long upon our Coast, that in the End They
 “ were taken ; Others put Themselves into our Har-
 “ bours, for Refuge, and Succours ; And it is certain-
 “ ly known, that in this Voyage, the *Spaniards* lost
 “ eighteen Ships, the *St. Luke*, and the *St. Bartholomew*
 “ being two, and in the Rank of his best Galleons.

“ We must ascribe the Victory only to God : For
 “ certainly the Enemy's Designs were perilous, and
 “ not

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"not diverted by our Force; but by His Will, Who,
 "from Time to Time, would not suffer the *Spaniards*,
 "in any of their Attempts, to set Footing in *England*,
 "as We had done in all the Quarters of *Spain*, *Portu-*
 "*gal*, the Islands, and both the *Indies*.

"In this Voyage to the Islands, I have set down
 "My Lord's Design upon the *Spanish* Fleet, lying at
 "*Ferrol*; wherein His Lordship required a Cap-
 "tain (o), He most relied on, to give his Opinion in
 "Writing. First, whether He should attempt the
 "Ships in Harbour? Secondly, whether before, or
 "after his being at *Tercera*? And lastly, the Man-
 "ner how to assault Them? The Captain's Answer
 "was as follows, which the Reader may peruse, and
 "judge of.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of ESSEX.

"IN Answer to your Lordship's Demand, *Whether*
 "to give an Attempt upon the Ships in *Ferrol*, before
 "the Landing of your Men, and the Castles gained? This
 "I say, that before I can give my Resolution, I must
 "describe the State of the Harbour, and the Situation
 "of the Forts, with the Strength of the Ships; for
 "out of These must proceed my Reasons.

"I conceive, at the Entrance of the Harbour, there
 "are two Castles, the one on the *South-Side*, the other
 "on the *North*, both commanding any Ship that shall
 "enter: They are seated low by the Water, the
 "Cliffs on both Sides very high, and the Harbour to
 "be chained.

"My Opinion is, if your Lordship do land your
 "Men in the Bay, before You take the Forts, as
 "there is no other Place in Landing, You must con-
 "sider it is an open Road, the Coast subject to *North-*
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(o) Sir William Monson.

“erly Winds, which beat so hard on the Shore, that
 “You cannot land your Soldiers, and their Furniture,
 “with Conveniency, and Safety, especially being
 “sure to find Resistance at your Landing.

“But your Lordship may answer that He who at-
 “tempts great Things must run all Hazards; and as
 “it is Wisdom to forecast all Doubts, and Dangers,
 “so were it too great a Security not to hazard Loss up-
 “on Hope of Victory: And, whereas the Danger of
 “landing, by Reason of the Sea’s breaking on the
 “Shore, is alleged, You may think We are not al-
 “ways sure of a *Northerly* Wind, nor of so great a Sea;
 “And therefore You must put your Attempt in Ad-
 “venture.

“But for your Lordship’s Satisfaction in this Point,
 “You must know, that You cannot seize that Coast,
 “but with such a Wind as makes such a Sea, and ren-
 “ders it difficult for You to land. Or suppose, that
 “being upon the Coast, as You were the last Year,
 “when You came from *Cadiz*, and that the Wind
 “should now do, as then it did, chop up from the
 “*South-West*, to the *North-West*, your Lordship would
 “be embayed, and forced to seek the Harbour of the
 “*Grayne*, or *Ferrol*, and make good those Places,
 “which then You might have done: But, now, You
 “must consider your Army is not so great as it was
 “then, and their Fortifications, and Shipping much
 “stronger than They were. My Opinion is, there-
 “fore, that there is little Possibility of attempting the
 “Shipping, without gaining the Forts, neither do I
 “see any Possibility to possess Them, with your small
 “Army.

“But your Lordship may allege, that tho’ the
 “Ports are impregnable, yet They may be passed with
 “a large Wind, for every Shot that comes from Them
 “hits

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" hits not ; or, if it does, it kills not, but tho' it should,
" sinks not.

" I allow it is no great Difficulty to pass any Fort
" with a Ship under Sail, being a moveable Thing,
" where no certain Aim can be had ; Yet I think no
" Place more dangerous than *Ferrol*, because of the
" Highness of the Hills, and the Narrowness of the
" Entrance, that makes a continual Calm, or the little
" Wind so uncertain, that every Puff brings sundry
" Shifts of Wind. Many of the King of *Spain's* Ships
" have been there lost. And, therefore, the Advantage
" of a Ship in passing a Castle, is the Force, and Large-
" ness of a Wind, as to the Contrary, these Forts will
" be able to annoy a Ship, upon the former Reasons.

" But allow that your Lordship's Fleet should enter
" safely, for the greatest Difficulty is not to pass in ;
" your Fleet being entered, They will be in the State
" of a Prisoner, that cannot get out of a House, without
" Leave of his Keeper ; for the Wind that is good,
" and large for Them to enter, is as much against their
" Coming out ; and, therefore, it behoves every Com-
" mander, as well to think of bringing Himself off with
" Discretion, as of falling on, with Resolution.

" Hitherto, I have shewn the Uncertainty of your
" Lordship's Landing, the Doubtfulness of your At-
" tempt, and the Danger in not having the castles ;
" but I will, now, suppose the Forts to be ours, and the
" whole Shipping passed Them without any Loss ;
" yet will the Enemy have as great an Advantage as
" They can wish ; for the Number of Men, and Ship-
" ping, and the Greatness of their Vessels are known to
" exceed ours ; and when there is an Equality of Ship-
" ping on both Sides, the Victory is not to be obtained
" on either Side, whilst there is Ammunition, and Men
" on the other Side, unless it be by a general Boarding,

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"or Stratagem of Firing, in which the *Spaniards* shall
 "have Advantage of us, They being in their own Har-
 "bour, where They may be supplied, and We can
 "have no Relief, but what We bring with us."

"If your Lordship shall hold it convenient, as, in
 "Discretion, I think You will, not to send in her Ma-
 "jesty's Ships upon this Service, then You must con-
 "sider the Rest of your Fleet to be far inferior to the
 "Enemy's Strength, and so, You will send Them ap-
 "parently to their own Destruction, Slaughter, and
 "Ruin."

"As I am against the Attempt of *Ferrol*, before You
 "return from the Islands, so I am also against your
 "Lordship's presenting Yourself upon that Coast; for,
 "in thinking to entice forth the Fleet, besides that You
 "shall discover your own Strength, You shall give
 "Them Occasion, to arm their Country; and, be-
 "sides, it will be in their Choice whether to fight with
 "You, or not; for They will be able to discover, and
 "judge of Forces; and such is their Discipline, that
 "although They had your Lordship upon Advantage,
 "yet They dare not attempt You, without a special
 "Order from the King; which your Lordship found
 "by Experience, in the Count of *Fuenter's* Answer to
 "your Lordship's Challenge, at the Walls of *Lisbon*.
 "And, to conclude, since your Lordship intends to go
 "from *Ferrol* to *Tercera*, it were much better, in my
 "Opinion, first, to attempt that Island, whilst your Ar-
 "my is strong, and in Health. It is a Place of much
 "more Importance, and there is more Likelihood of
 "prevailing, than in your Enterprize upon the Ship-
 "ping, as that Island, being possessed, will draw Con-
 "tributions from the other Islands, to maintain it.
 "Your Lordship will cut off the Supplies which the
 "*Spaniards*, and *Portuguese* receive from both the *Indies*,
 "Guinea,

Spaniards shall
 their own Har-
 and We can
 th us."
 venient, as, in
 end in her Ma-
 You must con-
 inferior to the
 fend Them ap-
 Slaughter, and
 rol, before You
 to against your
 that Coast; for,
 besides that You
 You shall give
 untry; and, be-
 er to fight with
 to discover, and
 Discipline, that
 pon Advantage,
 without a special
 Lordship found
 mter's Answer to
 Walls of Lisbon.
 hip intends to go
 h better, in my
 , whilst your Ar-
 Place of much
 ore Likelihood of
 e upon the Ship-
 will draw Con-
 to maintain it:
 pplies which the
 m both the Indies,
 "Guinea,

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"Guinea, and Brazil: Your Lordship will provide a
 "Place of Refuge for our Fleet hereafter, from whence
 "They may, with Ease, keep the Seas, and endanger all
 "the Trades aforesaid. Your Lordship will unite
 "that Island to the Crown of England, and, if there be
 "an Agreement of Peace betwixt the two Nations, You
 "will gain advantageous Conditions to the State of
 "England, upon a Treaty. Your Lordship will be in a
 "Possibility of drawing the Armada of Ferrol to pursue
 "You thither, that Island importing Them so much to
 "defend, and then your Lordship will have the De-
 "fire to fight Them upon equal Terms, at Sea. If
 "You attempt Ferrol first, and should happen to be
 "repulsed, your Lordship will confess it to be a great
 "Dishonour, and Loss, that You will not be able to
 "resolve upon any other Service, and then will your
 "Expedition for Tercera be utterly void: Whereas,
 "if You would please to make your Attempt upon
 "Tercera first, it will not take away your Hope of Fer-
 "rol, afterwards; for, in your Return from thence,
 "You will find the Shipping either in the same State
 "in which You left Them in the Harbour, or if You
 "meet Them at Sea, You will encounter Them to
 "Advantage. Thus have I answered your Lordship's
 "Demand, as You required."

W. M.

We have been the more particular in presenting to
 the Reader a full Relation of each Circumstance con-
 nected with the Enterprize, as the Causes of its Mis-
 carriage were an Object of Inquiry, not only to con-
 temporary Writers, but to the Generality of the Sub-
 jects of Elizabeth. The Courtiers were divided into
 two Parties. The one inclined to Raleigh, and the
 other to the Earl of Essex; but the Body of the People,

charmed with the Frankness, Intrepidity, and Generosity of the Latter, were unwilling to admit the least Censure on his Conduct. The Fondness which the Queen had conceived for *Essex*, did not, on this Occasion, diminish her Attachment to his Rival. The first was violently beloved: (p) The second enjoyed only a well regulated Esteem: Yet, howsoever the Heart of *Elizabeth* might have been affected, it is equally a Proof of Magnanimity, and Understanding, that the two Parties were, at this Period, in equal Possession of her Favours. When *Essex* recommended Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the Post of Secretary of State, the Queen conferred it on Sir *Robert Cecil*, the second Son of the Lord *Burleigh*, and the intimate Friend of *Raleigh*: Yet, not either to afflict, or disgust *Essex*, She raised Him to the Dignity of *Earl Marshal*, of *England*, an Office which had been vacant from the Death of the *Earl of Shrewsbury*. Judiciously hath it been remarked that *Essex* might have perceived from this Conduct, that She never intended to give Him the intire Ascendant over his Rivals, and might thence have learned the Necessity of Moderation, and Caution: But his Temper was too high for Submission, his Behaviour too open, and candid to practise the Arts of a Court: and his free Sal-lies, whilst They rendered Him but more amiable in the Eyes of good Judges, gave his Enemies many Advantages against Him.

It is worthy of our Notice that neither the *Earl of Essex*, nor Sir *Walter Raleigh*, would have proceeded to such violent, and mutual Accusations, had They been less severely taxed by Others. Their Conclusion of the Relation of the Enterprize was certainly intended as an Apology for Both.

“ And

(p) See Walpole's Royal, and Noble Authors, Article *Essex*.

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" And, now (*They observe*), We have given an Account of our whole Carriage, until We bore for *England*. If our coming Home, scattering, be objected, We must plead the Violence of Storms, against which no fore Directions, nor present Industry can prevail. We must conclude with this: That as We would have acknowledged that We had done but our Duties, if We had defeated the *Adelantada*, taken the *Spanish* Treasure, and conquered the Islands of the *Azores*, so We, having failed of nothing that God gave us Meanstodo, We hope that her Majesty will think that our painful Days, careful Nights, evil Diets, and many Hazards deserve not now to be measured by the Event. The like honourable, and just Construction, We promise Ourselves at the Hands of all the Lords. As for others, who sate warm at Home, and descanted upon Us, We know that They wanted Strength to perform more, and believe that they wanted Courage to adventure so much."

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety-seven, *Charles Leigh*, and *Abraham Van Herwic*, Merchants of *London*, equipped two Ships, the *Hopewell*, of the Burthen of one hundred, and twenty Tons, and the *Chancewell*, of the Burthen of seventy Tons. The first was commanded by *William Grafton*, and the second by *Stephen Benmet*. With These, *Charles Leigh*, and the Brother of *Van Herwic* sailed as Directors of the Voyage.

On the eighth of April, They departed from *GraveSEND*, and on the eighteenth of May, reached the Bank of *Newfoundland*. On the twentieth, They entered within the Bay of *Assumption*, when Captain *Grafton*, in the *Hopewell*, without waiting for the Orders of his Superior, Mr. *Leigh*, engaged a Vessel in the Service of the *French*. Concerning the Success of this Action, the Historian is silent.

From

" And

e Authors, Article

From hence, They stood out to Sea, and proceeded to *Caplin Bay*, where they remained until the End of the Month, in order to refit a Pinnace of the Burthen of seven Tons, which had attended Them from *England*. On the twelfth of June, They cast Anchor near the *North-East* End of the Island of *Menago*, where They caught a large Quantity of Cod-Fish. At the Island of *Brian*, to which They repaired in the Week following, They were equally successful. On the eighteenth, They arrived at the Island of *Ramea*, in the Harbour of which were two Vessels from *Saint Malo*, and two from *Sibiburo*, with all of which the *Hopewell* was engaged, at first with some Prospect of Advantage; but at the Close of the Action, overpowered by the superior Power of the *French* Ships, She was obliged to retreat precipitately from the Island, after having lost her Pinnace, together with an Anchor, and a Cable.

The *Chancewell*, which had, for some Time, been separated from the *Hopewell*, was unfortunately wrecked upon the Main of *Cape Breton* (q). Eight of the Mariners (whom the *French* had plundered, even of their Shirts,) put to Sea in their *Shallop*, and came up with the *Hopewell*, on her Return from the Island of *Ramea*. They were no sooner received on Board, than Captain *Grafton* sailed towards the Road where the *Chancewell* was lost, in Order to secure the Wreck, and take in the Remainder of the Crew.

On the Passage, the *Hopewell* intercepted a large *Biscayan* Vessel, of the Burthen of three hundred Tons, the Crew of which had been concerned in rising the *English*; but were prevailed on, partly by Threats, and, partly, by mild Persuasions, to restore a considerable Portion of the Plunder to the Owners.

On

(q) June 23d. 1597.

On the eighteenth of July, as the Master of the *Hopewell*, and sixteen of the Sailors were cruising in their Boat, They attacked, and took a *Spanish Ship*, at a small Distance from *Saint Lawrence*, and were towing Her to the *Hopewell*, when, in their Turn, They were encountered by some Barks from *Saint Juan de Luz*, and compelled, after an obstinate Resistance, to give up their Prize.

On the twenty-fifth, They engaged, in the Harbour of *Cape Saint Mary*, a Ship belonging to *Bellisle*, of the Burthen of two hundred Tons, and manned with forty Sailors. After a long, and sharp Action, She was boarded, and taken by the *English*. In this Vessel, Mr. *Leigh*, (having first dispatched the *Hopewell* to the *Azores*,) proceeded, on his Return to *England*, and, in the Beginning of September, arrived, with large Stores of Fish, and Oil, at *Gravesend* (r).

At the Commencement of the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety-nine, a considerable Fleet of Observation was fitted out, in Pursuance of an Order from *Elizabeth*, and intrusted to the Command of the Lord *Thomas Howard*, who, proceeding with it to the *Downs*, remained there until it was laid up, without having engaged in any Enterprize of the least Importance: Yet the salutary Advantages which resulted from the expeditious Equipment of the Fleet, may be considered as Proofs that the Appearance of Preparation is often equal to Conquest. Of the deep Impression which this Incident had made on every neighbouring Power, the Reader will be convinced, when He peruses the Remarks of a discerning, and contemporary Writer (s).

"The

(r) Hackluyt, Pt. 3. p. 195.

(s) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts. M. S. in Bibl. Cotton.

"The Expedition which was then used in assembling so considerable a military Force, and equipping so great a naval Armament in such a contracted Space of Time, was deemed so wonderful by other Countries, that They received a Terror from it, and many who came from beyond the Sea, observed that the Queen was never more dreaded abroad, on Account of any Measure which She had taken."

"The *Frenchmen* who came on Board of our Ships were astonished, and scarcely thought it credible that her Majesty had rigged, victualled, and furnished her royal Ships to Sea, in the Course of twelve Days. *Spain*, as an Enemy, had Reason to fear, and grieve at the Sight of this sudden Preparation; but more, when She understood how the Hearts of the Queen's Subjects joined with their Hands, and that they unanimously were prepared to spill their dearest Blood, in her Defence. The *Hollanders* might likewise see that if They became insolent, We should be as soon provided for them, as They for Themselves, which Celerity They did hardly expect to find in any Nation, but Themselves."

"It is, also, probable that the King of *Spain*, and the *Arch-Duke*, were drawn by this, to entertain Thoughts of Peace; for, as soon as our Fleet was at Sea, an Ambassador set out from *Brussels*, with Overtures of Peace, which, notwithstanding, were, for that Time, intirely unsuccessful. Whether it was that the intended Invasion from *Spain* was diverted, or that her Majesty was fully satisfied with the Earl of *Essex*, I know not; but either the one, or the other is very likely, by the sudden Return of the Ships from Sea, in Obedience to her Command, after They had lain, during a Month, in the Downs."

The

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The following is an authentic List of the Fleet, employed by *Elizabeth*, on this Occasion (i).

SHIPS.	COMMANDERS.
<i>The Elizabeth-Jonas.</i>	<i>The Lord Thomas Howard.</i>
<i>Ark-Royal.</i>	<i>Sir Walter Raleigh.</i>
<i>Triumph.</i>	<i>Sir Fulk Greville.</i>
<i>Mary Honora.</i>	<i>Sir Henry Palmer.</i>
<i>Repulse.</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Vavasor.</i>
<i>Garland.</i>	<i>Sir William Harris,</i>
<i>Defiance.</i>	<i>Sir William Monson.</i>
<i>Nonpareil.</i>	<i>Sir Robert Cross.</i>
<i>Lion.</i>	<i>Sir Richard Levison.</i>
<i>Rainbow.</i>	<i>Sir Alexander Clifford.</i>
<i>Hope.</i>	<i>Sir John Gilbert.</i>
<i>Forefight.</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Shirley.</i>
<i>Mary Rose.</i>	<i>Mr. Fortescue.</i>
<i>Bonaventure.</i>	<i>Captains Throughton.</i>
<i>Crane.</i>	<i>Jones.</i>
<i>Swiftsure.</i>	<i>Bradgate.</i>
<i>Tramontane.</i>	<i>Slingby.</i>
<i>Advantage.</i>	<i>Hore (u).</i>
<i>Quittance.</i>	<i>Reynolds.</i>

In the Year, one Thousand, and six Hundred, the *Repulse*, the *Warspight*, and the *Vanguard* were sent, under the Command of *Sir Richard Levison*, and the Captains *Throughton*, and *Sommers*, to intercept the *Spanish* Plate Fleet, on its Return from *India*. Of the immaterial Circumstances of this Expedition, it will be needless to inform the Reader; and We shall only remark that it was unsuccessful, and that the *English* received Intelligence of the Enemy, but never could descry Them, and therefore, came back to *Portsmouth* (x).

In the following Year, *Sir Richard Levison*, in the *Warspight*, attended by *Sir Amias Preflon*, and the Captains

(i) *Sir William Monson's* naval Tracts.

(u) In the printed Tracts; but in *M. S. White*.

(x) *Sir William Monson's* Tracts. p. 196.—*M. S.* in *Bibl. Cott.*

Captains *Gore*, *Sommers*, and *Manwaring*, in the *Garland*, *Defiance*, *Swiftsure*, and *Crane*, proceeded towards the Coast of *Ireland*, but arrived too late to intercept an *Armada* of forty-eight Ships, under the Command of the Admiral *Don Diego de Borachero*, who had disembarked, in that Kingdom, with a Body of four thousand *Spaniards*. These, Sir *Richard* followed into the Harbour, and, drawing near to the Fortifications which they had erected, kept up an incessant Firing during the Course of the whole Day, at the Close of which his Vessel had been shot through in an hundred Places, and yet only eight of his Men were slain. Having destroyed the *Spanish* Shipping within the Port, He stood out to Sea, and gave Chace, with all his Fleet, to another naval Armament, which, under the Command of the *Spanish* Vice Admiral *Siriago*, was proceeding, on its Passage from the *Groyne*, to the Relief of *Don Diego de Borachero*, but had tacked about, at the Approach of *Levison*, and, soon afterwards, found a Shelter in a neighbouring Harbour, from whence the Vice Admiral, embarking in a *French* Vessel, returned, privately, to *Spain*. Having obliged the Enemy to relinquish their Design, and withdraw from *Ireland*, Sir *Richard Levison* set sail for *England* (y).

At this Period, *Bartholomew Gosnell*, the Commander of a small Vessel, sailed, with thirty-two Associates to the Northern Districts of *Virginia*. The Appearances of the Country were so inviting, that these Adventurers agreed to relinquish their Design of undertaking a Discovery to the South. The Spot on which the *English* had fixed their Residence was in the Latitude of
 forty

(y) Stowe, p. 798.—Itinerary of Fynes Morryson. B. 2. p. 134.—Camden, p. 887.—Sir William Monton's Tracts. p. 198.—MS. in Bibl. Cotton.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 497.

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forty-one Degrees, and ten Minutes. It was woody, fruitful, and pleasant; abounding with Fish, Fowl, Cattle, and fresh Water. From the Ocean, it was distant only two Leagues; and the *English* had named it, in Compliment to their Sovereign, the Island of *Elizabeth*.

It must be remarked that *Gosnoll*, previous to the Establishment of a Colony, at this Place, had sailed along the Coast, and observed a Number of fine Islands which, for the most Part, were uninhabited, but capable, by Reason of their Fertility, of maintaining a Multitude of Persons. The very few Natives whom They saw were exceedingly reserved to the *English*, and much addicted to Stealing. Their frequent Intercourse with the *Europeans* was visible from a Variety of Circumstances.

On the *North-West* Side of the Island of *Elizabeth*, Captain *Gosnoll* discovered a Lake of fresh Water, nearly a League in Circumference, and at a small Distance from the Ocean. In the Midst of it, was an Acre of deep, and solid Ground, on which the *English* constructed a Fort, and stocked it with Provisions. They, next, visited the main Land, adjoining to the Island, and found it richly diversified with Vales, Meadows, Groves, Brooks, and Rivers. In its Woods, were Fowl; and, near the Shores, vast Quantities of Turtle, and various Kinds of Fish. Here, the *English* maintained a Traffic with the *Indians*, and, for Knives, Toys, and other Commodities of *Europe*, procured Beavers, Lucerns, Martens, Otters, Foxes, Rabbits, Seals, and Deer-Skins.

If the Planters had been less attentive to their private Interest, it is probable that this Colony might have been settled to Advantage. The Difficulty of establishing Unanimity amongst a Number of selfish Individuals

duals was so severely felt by *Gosnoll*, that He resolved to quit the Place. Having freighted the Ship with Sassafras, Cedar-Wood, Furs, and other valuable Commodities, the *Englisb* took a reluctant Leave of the Fort which, in the Course of nineteen Days, had been rendered capable of containing a Multitude of Men, and the necessary Provisions. After a Passage of six Weeks, They arrived, on the twenty-third of July, at the Port of *Exmouth* (x).

In this Year, also, the *Russian* Company equipped, and victualled, for eighteen Months, two Fly-Boats; the One of the Burthen of seventy, and the Other of sixty Tons, for the Burpose of sailing, on a Voyage of Discovery, towards the *North Pole*. The Command of these Vessels was given to Mr. *George Weymouth*, who, on the second of May, departed with Them, from *Ratcliff*, and, in the Middle of July, in the Latitude of sixty eight Degrees, and fifty-three Minutes, was so obstructed by Mountains of Ice, intense Cold, and thick Fogs, that his Crew became dispirited, and would proceed no farther. To borrow their own Expressions, They alledged, as a Reason for their Conduct that, "If it were granted that They might Winter between sixty, and seventy Degrees of Latitude, with Safety of their Lives, and Vessels, yet it would be in May next, before They could unmoor Them, and launch Them into the Sea again, and, therefore, if the Merchants would proceed in the Discovery of these *North-West* Parts of *America*, their Ships might be in the same Latitude from *England*, by the first of May, and so be better furnished with Men, and Victuals, to proceed in the
"Action."

(x) Harris's Col. Pt. 1. p. 816.—Smith's general History of Virginia—Purchas.—V. 4. p. 1647.—Hist. Virginia p. 10.

"Action." Having set their Hands to these Remarks, They immediately bent their Course for *England*, and on the fifth of September, arrived at *Dartmouth*.

At the Close of this Year, the civil Wars of *Ireland* were terminated by the Prudence, Activity, and Resolution of *Montjoy*, the Lord Deputy of the Kingdom, and *Tyrone*, a voluntary Prisoner, declared that He surrendered his Life, and Fortune, to the Mercy of *Elizabeth*: But the Felicities which arise from Victory, and the Extent of Power, were too feeble to relieve the Mind of a desponding Queen. A deep Melancholy had seized upon her Spirits; and the Indifference with which She regarded the still increasing Prosperities of her Reign was an alarming Proof that She despaired of Comfort. This miserable Dejection hath been imputed, by a Number of Historians, to her Discovery of the Correspondence which the chief Nobles of the Court had maintained with her presumptive Successor, the King of *Scots*; and, likewise to the Suspicions which she had harboured that, in private, her Infirmities, and old Age were the Objects of Ridicule to her Attendants. From the Account of later Writers (a), who with equal Industry, and Discernment, have amassed, and arranged a Series of extraordinary Facts, We may be justified in attributing this Melancholy to the painful Recollection of that fatal, and unguarded Moment in which she signed the Warrant for the Execution of the Earl of *Essex*. Her passionate Veneration for the Memory of this accomplished Favourite, and her deep Sorrow for his Loss, broke out with a redoubled Violence, at the

(a) Birch's Negotiations, p. 206.—Birch's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 481, 505, 506, &c.—Walpole's Royal, and Noble Authors. Articles Elizabeth, and Essex.—Hume's History of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 445, 446.

the Detection of a Circumstance which, until this Period, had remained a Secret.

When *Essex* was affectionately congratulated, by the Queen, on the Victory which He had gained at *Cadix*. He took the Liberty to remark, that his Absence from her Person, painful even amidst the most brilliant Successes of the War, became insufferably tormenting, whilst He dreaded that a faction, continually in the Court, were eager to accomplish his Destruction. Charmed with the Recital of those Fears, which, being Herself enamoured, She placed not more to Loyalty, than Love, *Elizabeth* drew from her Finger, a valuable Ring, and, presenting it to *Essex*, as a Pledge of her Regard, declared that, if, hereafter, in the Moment of Misfortune, and Disgrace, He should send it as a Remembrance, She would convince Him that her Attachment was sincere, and listen not only with Patience, but with Pleasure, to his Defence. So precious a Deposit was not recurred to, in the transient Hour of Adversity, but preserved by *Essex*, for the severest Period of Affliction. Having been tried, and sentenced to the Block, He intrusted the Ring to the Wife of his most bitter Enemy, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and charged her to deliver it, immediately, to the Queen. The Countess, seduced by the Persuasions of her Husband, neglected to comply with his Request; and *Elizabeth*, offended at Appearances which She imputed to the Pride, and Obstinacy of *Essex*, grew weary of Delays; and, in the Agonies of Rage, Vexation, and Disappointment, signed the Warrant, and gave Orders that He should be led, directly, to Execution (b).

When

(b) Another Circumstance equally fatal to *Essex*, was the Neglect of Mr. Edward Wiseman, a Follower of his Fortunes, who did not deliver to *Elizabeth*, in Time, a Letter from that Lord

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When the Countess of Nottingham was afflicted by the Sickness which terminated in her Death, She became anxious to discharge the Burthen of a guilty Mind; and, having obtained the Honour of a Visit from *Elizabeth*, revealed the dreadful Secret, and, bursting into Tears, implored her Pardon: The astonished Queen, inattentive to the Agonies of an expiring Penitent, grew frantic with Excess of Rage, and, having shaken the Countess in her Bed, protested that *perhaps God might forgive Her, but She never would*. With these terrible Expressions, She fled from her Apartment, gave a Loose to the Violence of Grief, refused all Sustenance, forbade every Attendant even to speak of Comfort, and casting Herself, in Distraction, upon the Floor, declared Existence to be a Torment from which Death only could relieve Her. During the Course of ten Days, and Nights, She lay prostrate on the Carpet, and was, at length, with Difficulty, prevailed on to recline upon the Pillows which had been brought for her Support. In vain did the Physicians intreat that she would permit her Maids to conduct Her to the Bed; and every Attempt to administer a Medicine was fully rejected (c). That Inveteracy of Grief which, neither the Infirmities of her Body, nor the Despondency of her

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F f

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Lord acquainting Her, that he had desired the Countess to present the Ring. *Wismen* was so deeply affected by the Sense of his Misconduct, that he solemnly vowed that He would never go to Bed during the Remainder of his Life. When the Reader shall have been informed that this Penitent slept afterwards on the Trunk of a large Tree, hewn out into the Shape of a Bed, and Bolster, He will, perhaps, consider so whimsical a Singularity as the ridiculous Evasion of an Oath, and not the just Punishment of an Error.—See Morant's History of Essex. V. 2. p. 283. (c) Strype, Vol. 4. No. 270.

Mind were capable of surmounting, had sensibly alarmed the Council, who directed the Lord Admiral, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the Secretary of State to attend, and beseech Her to name a Successor to the Throne. She replied, in feeble Accents, "*My Scepter hath been that of Kings; and He who wields it is of royal Blood.*" Cecil took the Liberty of objecting to the Obscurity of these Expressions, and subjoined that the Council had requested the clearest Declaration of her Pleasure. She, now, explained her Meaning, and added; "*My Successor shall be a Sovereign: Who is He, but my nearest Kinsman, James, the Sixth of Scotland?*" John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, then admonished Her to fix her Thoughts upon God. She replied, "*That I do; neither doth my Mind wander from Him in the least.*" Her Voice now failed, and She continued, during some Hours, in a lethargic Slumber. Awaking from it, She raised her Hands, and Eyes to Heaven, and, being speechless, expressed by Gestures, the firmest Confidence in the Mercy of her CREATOR. At this Instant the Powers of Nature sunk, and She expired (d), without a Groan, in the seventieth Year of her Age, and the forty-fifth of her Reign (e).

The Limits of this Work will not permit us to expatiate on the Character of *Elizabeth*. Suffice it to observe that, as a Sovereign, her Conduct, if We except a criminal Disregard to the Liberties of the Subject, is, in most Respects, superior to applause. In all the various Departments of Administration, which, during that *Æra*, approached the nearest to Perfection, the Influence of her extensive

(d) March 24th. A. D. 1603.

(e) Camden. — Lord Bacon. — Stowe. — Speed. — Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 460, 461. Letter to the Duke de Tremouille. — Moyser's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland. p. 309. — Memoirs of Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth, p. 172.

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extensive Understanding, deep Policy, indefatigable Activity, undaunted Heroism, cool Prudence, and unabated Constancy was carried to an Extreme, unknown to every former Prince, except the virtuous, and accomplished *Alfred*. To such distinguished Qualities, her Subjects were indebted for the Selection of those judicious Statesmen, intrepid Warriors, and spirited Adventurers, whose Plans, and executions have been considered, by Posterity, as the firm Basis of that naval, and commercial Power which yet renders this prosperous Island an Object of Terror, and Respect to the surrounding States. An Examination of the singular Talents of *Elizabeth*, for every Mode of Government is foreign to our Subject; and these Remarks are not intended to characterise, but to applaud the patriotic Heroine who regarded *Manufactures as the richest Mine of the Kingdom, and the Dominion of the Seas as the chief Jewel of the Crown (f)*. We now present the Reader with

(f) Columna Rostrata.

A LIST of the ROYAL NAVY at the Demise of ELIZABETH (g).

<i>Names of Ships.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Men in Harbour.</i>	<i>Men at Sea.</i>	<i>Mariners.</i>	<i>Capt.</i>	<i>Soldiers.</i>
Elizabeth Jonas.	900	30	500	340	40	120
Triumph.	1000	30	500	340	40	120
White Bear.	900	30	500	340	40	130
Victory.	800	17	400	268	32	100
Mary Honora (A.)	800	30	400	268	32	100
Ark Royal.	800	17	400	268	32	100
Saint Matthew.	1000	30	500	340	40	120
Saint Andrew.	900	17	400	268	32	12
Due Repulse.	700	16	350	232	30	90
Garland.	700	16	300	190	30	90
Warfight.	600	12	500	190	30	80
Mary Rose.	600	12	250	150	30	70
Hope.	600	12	250	150	30	70
Bonaventure.	600	12	250	150	30	70
Lion.	500	12	250	150	30	70
Nonpareil.	500	12	250	150	30	70
Defiance.	500	12	250	150	30	70
Rainbow.	500	12	250	150	30	70
Dreadnought.	400	10	200	130	20	50
Antelope.	350	10	160	114	16	30

Hope.	000	12	250	150	30	70	30
Bonaventure.	600	12	250	150	30	70	30
Lion.	500	12	250	150	30	70	30
Nonpareil.	500	12	250	150	30	70	30
Defiance.	500	12	250	150	30	70	30
Rainbow.	500	12	250	150	30	70	30
Dreadnought.	400	10	200	130	20	50	30
Antelope.	350	10	160	114	16	30	30

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Swiftsure.	400	10	200	130	20	50	30
Swallow.	330	10	160	114	16	30	30
Forefight.	300	10	120	88	12	20	20
Tide.	250	7	100	70	10	20	20
Crane.	200	7	120	88	12	20	20
Adventure.	250	7	100	70	10	20	20
Quittance.	200	7	100	70	10	20	20
Answer.	200	7	100	70	10	20	20
Advantage.	200	7	100	70	10	20	20
Tiger.	200	7	100	70	10	20	20
Tramontane.	120	6	70	52	8	10	10
Scout.	100	6	66	48	8	10	10
Cat.	70	5	60	42	6	7	7
Charles.	60	5	45	32	5	5	5
Moon.	60	4	40	30	5	5	5
Advice.	50	5	40	30	5	5	5
Spy.	50	5	40	30	5	5	5
Merlin.	45	5	35	26	5	4	4
Sun.	40	5	30	24	4	2	2
Synnet.	20	2	30	24	4	2	2
George Hoy.	100	10	8				
Penny Rose Hoy.	80	8					

(2) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts. M. S. in Bibl. Cott.—(h) Mer-Honneur—Honneur de la Mer.

From the foregoing List, the Reader will perceive that the Navy of *Elizabeth* amounted to forty-two Vessels; a powerful Armament, if by Number, We include Force. A celebrated Historian hath somewhat lessened its Importance by comparing it with the marine Establishment of his own Times. May we venture to dissent from so respectable an Authority, and infer that it is not either the Want of Burthen, or the Scarcity of Cannon, which should regulate our Idea of the Fleet, in the Service of *Elizabeth*? Let us rather judge of it by the Victories which it gained, and, when We discover that every hostile Power, during that Period, beheld with equal Terror, and Surprize, the Equipment of a naval Armament, within the Space of a single Fortnight (*k*), allow that the maritime Force of *England* was never more respectable, although none of the Ships carried above forty Guns; and, notwithstanding that four only came up to that Number; that there were but two Ships of a thousand Tons; and twenty-three below five hundred; some of fifty; and some even of twenty Tons; and, that the whole Number of Guns belonging to the Navy was seven Hundred, and Seventy-four. We may also add, without being able to draw the least positive Conclusion against the Importance of the Fleet, during the Reign of *Elizabeth*, that, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-eight, not more than five of the Vessels equipped by the Nobility, and by the different Ports, were above the Burthen of two hundred Tons (*l*).

The Reader may, probably, recollect that when *Henry*, the Eighth prepared his naval Armaments, He hired Ships from *Genoa*, *Dantzick*, *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, and *Venice*; but *Elizabeth*, at the Commencement of her Reign pursued

(*k*) A. D. 1599.

(*l*) Sir William Monson's Tracts, p. 300.

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(m) pursued more prudent, and judicious Measures; not only constructing a royal Navy, but encouraging the Merchants to build large trading Vessels, which, on Occasion, were converted into Ships of War. In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty-two, the Number of Mariners, in *England*, amounted to fourteen Thousand, two Hundred and Ninety-five; The Vessels were computed at twelve Hundred and Thirty-two: Of These, only two Hundred, and seventeen were above the Burden of eighty Tons (n).

It cannot be denied, that, whilst *Elizabeth* appeared desirous to promote the Extension, and Prosperity of Commerce, She violently impaired its Vigour by the Introduction of Monopolies, and Grants of Patents for an exclusive Trade. A naval Writer (a) hath remarked, that these were the Invention, or, at least, received the Countenance, and turned to the Profit of her Ministers, who, for a Time, by Misrepresentations, prevailed upon their Sovereign to support them; but, that when She understood their Nature, and Extent, She entirely discarded Them. In Spite of this Apology, We cannot avoid subscribing to the Opinion of a great Historian (p), whose Researches on the Subject will materially assist us, and who judiciously observes that, had the Queen gone on, during a Track of Years, at her own Rate, in the Erection of Monopolies, *England*, the Seat of Riches, of Arts, and Commerce, would have contained, at present, as little Industry as *Morocco*, or the Coasts of *Barbary*.

(m) See Page 145 of the second Volume.

(n) Sir William Monson's *Tracts*, p. 256.

(a) Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 505.

(p) Mr. Hume.

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It must be remarked that *Elizabeth*, unable to reward, with any Portion of her Revenue, the greater Number of those faithful Ministers, and intrepid Warriors, who had distinguished Themselves in the Service of the State, recurred to the Expedient which had been employed more cautiously by her Predecessors, and granted exclusive Patents to her great Officers, and Courtiers, by whom They were transferred, for pecuniary Gratifications, to inferior Individuals, who, raising the necessary Articles of Life, to their own Prices, severely injured the Prosperity of Commerce. Amidst a Multitude of other Commodities secured to these Monopolists, were Currants, Salt, Iron, Powder, Cards, Calf-Skins, Fells, Pouldavies, (g) Ox-Shin-Bones, Train-Oil, Lifts of Cloth, Pot-Ashes, Anniseeds, Vinegar, Sea-Coals, Steel, *Aqua Vita*, Brushes, Pots, Bottles, Sack-Petre, Lead, Acidences, Oil-Calumint-Stone, Glasses, Paper, Starch, Sulphur, new Drapery, dried Pilchards, Oil of Blubber, the Transportation of Iron Ordnance, of Beer, of Horn, of Leather; the Importation of *Spanish* Wools, and of *Irish* Yarn, (r) When this extraordinary Catalogue was read over at the Bar of the House of Commons, a Member cried out, *Is not Bread included? Bread!* exclaimed the whole Assembly, with Surprise. *Aye! Bread replied He, for, if Matters proceed to such Lengths, even that indispensable Article will be engrossed before the next Parliament.* (s) So unconscionable were the Demands of these Monopolists, that, in some Places, They raised the Price of Salt, from sixteen Pence, to fourteen, or fifteen

(g) A Kind of coarse Canvas used by Salesmen in the Package of their Wares.

(r) D'Ewes. p. 648. 650. 652.

(s) Ibid. p. 648.

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 441

fifteen Shillings, for each Bushel (t). Allured by the View of such excessive Profits, a Multitude of mercenary Individuals maintained a Kind of Piracy in this abominable Traffic; but were soon checked by an Edict of the Council, which invested with the most arbitrary and oppressive Powers the original Patentees, who, now, sacrificed to their Extortion all Those whom it was their Pleasure to accuse, either justly, or falsely, of an Encroachment on their Privileges (u). The Monopolizers of Salt-Petre, who were permitted to enter, at Discretion, into every Dwelling, and to plunder, with Impunity, the Cellars, and Stables, where They pretended to suspect that this Article was concealed, had the Villainy to wring pecuniary Bribes from those persecuted Individuals, who were anxious to prevent this Robbery in their Houses (x). It was not alone to the various Articles of domestic Commerce that this Monopoly extended: Nearly all the Branches of foreign Trade had been centered, by the regal Prerogative, in exclusive Companies, who, whether indisposed to purchase, or to sell, assumed the Privilege of affixing their own Prices on the Goods.

On these unsufferable, and fatal Grievances, the preceding Parliament had animadverted, with unusual Severity, yet their Petition to *Elizabeth*, for an immediate Relief against Monopolies was haughtily rejected. The Commons, now, endeavoured, by the Introduction of a Bill, to accomplish the Abolition of the Patents; and, it was urged that, as their Addresses, on this Occasion, to the Throne, had been unavailing, the only Remedy for the Abuse complained of was the Establishment

(t) D'Ewes, p. 647.

(u) Ibid. p. 644. 646. 652.

(x) Ibid. p. 653.

ment of an effective Law. The Ministry, and the Courtiers insisted that the Matter regarded the Prerogative, and that the House could neither expect, nor deserve Success, but by a second Application, in all Humility, and Reverence, to the Mercy of *Elizabeth*. The present Advocates for civil, and religious Liberty, must read, with equal Indignation, and Astonishment, that the Partizans of Royalty, during that *Æra*, were capable of asserting that the Queen inherited not only an enlarging, but a restraining Power; that by her Prerogative, She might set at Liberty what was restrained by Statute, or otherwise; and, by the same Prerogative, She might restrain what was otherwise at Liberty (y); that this regal Prerogative, placed beyond all Limitations, whatsoever, was not to be disputed, nor even in the least examined (z); that Princes so absolute as were the Sovereigns of *England*, must be considered as a species of Divinity (a); that the Attempt to bind the Queen by Laws, and Statutes, was idle, and ridiculous, since, by Virtue of her dispensing Power, She could loosen Herself at Pleasure (b); and that, although a Clause intended to exclude this dispensing Power should be annexed to the Statute, She could first dispense with that Clause, and, then, with the Statute (c). These Debates, which are judiciously observed to have been more worthy of a *Turkish* Divan, than of an *English* House of Commons (d), were reported to *Elizabeth*, who, sensible of the general Disgust which had been conceived against Monopolies, and apprehen-

(y) D'Ewes. p. 644. 675.

(z) Ibid. p. 644. 649.

(a) Ibid. p. 649.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid. 640. 646.

(d) Hume's History of England, V. v. p. 441.

five of those Feuds which might ensue, sent immediately for the Speaker, and commanded Him to acquaint the Parliament that it was her Pleasure that the most odious, and oppressive of the Patents should be annulled.

That the Astonishment of the House, at the Delivery of such a Message from an arbitrary Sovereign, was unaffected, may, readily, be supposed; but, it is difficult to reconcile the shocking Flattery of Words with the secret Feelings of even the most loyal, and submissive Minds. A Member, whilst the Tears bedewed his Cheeks, declared that the Extasy of Joy with which He then was overwhelmed, could not be equalled, although a Sentence of everlasting Happiness, were to be issued in his Favour (e). A second in the same Strain of detestable Impiety, remarked that this Promise from the sacred Person of the Queen, was a Kind of Gospel, or glad Tidings, and ought to be received as such, and written in the Tables of their Hearts (f). It was added that *Elizabeth*, in her Resemblance to the DEITY, who would not resign his Glory to Another, was Herself the sole Instrument of their present Happiness (g). The House, (and, We may imagine, without one dissenting Voice,) now, voted that the Speaker, and a select Committee should wait upon the Queen, to know when She would be graciously inclined to admit into her royal Presence her faithful Commons, that They might pay their Tribute of Thanksgiving, for the Mercies which They had received.

Having approached *Elizabeth*, They fell, reverently, on their Knees, and continued in that humble Posture, during

(e) D'Ewes, p. 656.

(f) Ibid. p. 656.

(g) Ibid. p. 657.

during some Time, and until She condescended to declare her Pleasure that They should rise (h). The Speaker expatiated on the Gratitude of the Commons, which was the more lively, because "her sacred Ears were ever open to hear Them, and her blessed Hand ever stretched out to relieve Them." He observed that "They acknowledged, in all Duty, and Thankfulness, acknowledged, that, before They called, her *preventing Grace*, and *all deserving Goodness*, watched over Them for their Happiness, more ready to give than They could desire, much less deserve." He added, that "the Attribute which was most proper to God, to perform all which He promiseth appertained also to Her; and that "She was all Truth, all Constancy, and all Goodness." The Remainder of this subject, and blasphemous Adoration was thus expressed: "Neither do We present our Thanks in Words, or any outward Signs, which can be no Retribution for so great Goodness; but in all Duty, and Thankfulness, prostrate at your Feet, We present our most loyal, and thankful Hearts, even the last Drop of Blood in our Hearts, and the last Spirit of Breath in our

(h) All who addressed Elizabeth, were at first, obliged to kneel. Her Hand was sometimes waved as a Signal that They should rise. Wheresoever She looked, every Person, within her View, fell, instantly, on his Knees. Even during her Absence, the Attendants, although of Quality, who covered her Table, neither approached, nor quitted it, without kneeling, and that, frequently, three Times*. James the First, suffered his Courtiers to omit this Homage, but not because *foregoing the Power, He relinquished the Appearance of Despotism* †. The fulsome Practice of kneeling is not yet banished from every Court.

* Hentzner.

† See Hume.

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our Nostrils, to be poured out, to be breathed up for
your Safety" (i).

A Speech, in which a frail Creature was likened to
her spotless MAKER, could scarcely fail of pleasing an
imperious Princess. Her Answer proved full of Ten-
derness, and seemed calculated to revive the nearly de-
clining Affections of her People. The Commons, pre-
vious to the welcome Determinations of the Point re-
lative to Monopolies, had granted Her an unusual Sup-
ply of four Subsidies, and eight Fifteenths. We must
assent to the Opinion of a discerning Writer (k), and
add " that if the Parliament had attempted, by
keeping the Supply in Suspence, to extort a Concession
from a Sovereign so haughty as *Elizabeth*, the Appear-
ance of Constraint, and Jealousy, would have produced
a Denial of all their Requests, and have forced Her
into some Acts of Authority still more violent, and
arbitrary."

As this Subject is not only materially connected with
the commercial Part of our History, but capable of
ascertaining the Mode of Government, to which the
English submitted; under the Sovereignty of *Elizabeth*,
We shall not relinquish it, until We have thrown it
into the clearest Point of View, by an Insertion of
some extraordinary Passages from the Speeches of the
Members.

When Mr. *Lawrence Hyde*, proposed a Bill, intituled
an Act for the Explanation of the common Law, in
certain Cases of Letters Patent;

Mr. *Spicer* observed: " This Bill may touch the
Prerogative royal, which, as I learned the last Parlia-
ment, is so transcendent that the - - - - - of
the Subject may not aspire thereto. Far be it,
therefore,

(i) D'Ewes. p. 658, 659.

(k) Mr. Hume.

therefore, from me, that the State, and Prerogative-royal of the Prince should be tied by me, or by the Act of any other Subject."

Mr. *Francis Bacon*, spoke thus: As to the Prerogative-royal of the Prince, I ever allowed of it; and it is such, as I hope will never be discussed. The Queen, as She is our Sovereign, hath both an enlarging, and a restraining Power. For, by her Prerogative, She may set at Liberty what is restrained by Statute-Law, or otherwise; and, secondly, by her Prerogative, She may restrain what is at Liberty. For the first She may grant an *Non Obstante* contrary to the penal Laws.— With Regard to Monopolies, and such like Cases, the Case hath ever been, to humble ourselves unto her Majesty, and, by Petition, desire to have our Grievances remedied, especially when the Remedy toucheth Her so nigh in Point of Prerogative — — — I say, and I say it again, that We ought not to deal, to judge, or meddle with her Majesty's Prerogative. I wish, therefore, every Man to be careful of this Business."

Doctor *Bennet*, observed, that "He who goeth about to debate her Majesty's Prerogative, had Need to walk warily."

Mr. *Lawrence Hyde*, said, "For the Bill itself, I made it, and I think I understand it: And, far be it from this Heart of mine to think, this Tongue to speak, or this Hand to write any Thing, either in Prejudice, or Derogation of her Majesty's Prerogative-royal, and the State."

These were the Words of Serjeant *Harris*: "Mr. Speaker, For ought I see, the House moveth to have this Bill in the Nature of a Petition. It must, then, begin with more Humiliation. And, truly, Sir! the Bill is good of itself, but the Penning of it is somewhat out of Course."

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Mr. Montague replied, "The Matter is good, and honest, and I like this Manner of proceeding by Bill well enough in this Matter. The Grievances are great, and I would note only unto You, thus much, that, the last Parliament, We proceeded by Way of Petition, which had no successful Effect."

Mr. Francis Moore, added: "I know that the Queen's Prerogative is a Thing curious to be dealt withal, yet all Grievances are not comparable. I cannot utter with my Tongue, or conceive with my Heart, the great Grievances that the Town, and Country, for which I serve, suffer by some of these Monopolies. It bringeth the general Profit into a private Hand, and the End of all this is Beggary, and Bondage to the Subjects. We have a Law for the true, and faithful currying of Leather: There is a Patent which sets all at Liberty, notwithstanding the Statute. And to what Purpose is it to do any Thing by Act of Parliament, when the Queen will undo the same by her Prerogative! Out of the Spirit of Humiliation, Mr. Speaker! I do speak it: *There is no Act of her's that hath been, or is more derogatory to her own Majesty, more odious to the Subject, more dangerous to the Commonwealth than the Granting of these Monopolies.*"

Mr. Martin, said; "I do speak for a Town that grieves, and pines, for a Country that groaneth, and languisheth under the Burthen of monstrous, and unconscionable Substitutes to the Monopolitans of Starch, Tin, Fish, Cloth, Oil, Vinegar, Salt, and I know not what, nay, what not. The principalest Commodities both of my Town, and Country, are engrossed into the Hands of these Blood-Suckers of the Commonwealth. If a Body, Mr. Speaker! being let Blood, be left still languishing without any Remedy, how can the good Estate of that Body still remain! Such is the State of my Town, and Country;

Country ; the Traffic is taken away ; the inward ; and private Commodities are taken away, and dare not be used without the Licence of these Monopolitans. If these Blood-Suckers be still let alone to suck up the best, and principalest Commodities, which the Earth there hath given us, what will become of us, from whom the Fruits of our own Soil, and the Commodities of our own Labour, which, with the Sweat of our Brows, even up to the Knees in Mire, and Dirt, We have laboured for, shall be taken by *Warrant of supreme Authority*, which the poor Subject dare not gainsay ?”

“ We know (observe Mr. *George More*;) that the Power of her Majesty cannot be restrained by any Act. Why, therefore should We talk ? Admit that We should make this Statute with a *Non Obstante* ; yet the Queen may grant a Patent with a *Non Obstante*, to cross this *Non Obstante* ; I think, therefore, it agreeth more with the Gravity and Wisdom of this House to proceed, with all Humbleness, by Petition than Bill.”

Mr. *Dowland* said, “ As I would be no Let, or over-vehement in any Thing, so I am not so sottish, or senseless of the common Grievance of the Commonwealth. If We proceed by Way of Petition, We can have no more gracious Answer than We had, the last Parliament, to our Petition. But since that Parliament, We have no Reformation.”

Sir *Robert Worth* observed : “ I speak, and speak it boldly, these Patentees are worse than ever They were.”

Mr. *Hayward Townsend* said ; “ Let us make Suit to her Majesty, not only to repeal all Monopolies grievous to the Subject, but also that it would please her Majesty to give the Parliament Leave to make an act, that They might be of no more Force, Validity, or Effect than They are at the common Law, without the

Strength

Strength of her Prerogative. Which, although We might now delay the Passing thereof, yet We, her loving Subjects, would not offer without her Privity, and Consent, the Cause so nearly touching her Prerogative, or go about to do any such Act." On a subsequent Day the Bill against Monopolies was again introduced, and Mr. *Spicer* said:

"It is to no Purpose to offer to tie her Majesty's Hands, by Act of Parliament, when She may loosen Herself, at her Pleasure."

Mr. *Davies*, applying a Latin Axiom to the Sovereigns of England, spoke thus: "God hath given that Power to absolute Princes which He attributes to Himself. *Dixi quod Dii esset.*"

These were the Words of Mr. Secretary Cecil: "I am Servant to the Queen; and, before I would speak, and give Consent to a Case that should debase her Prerogative, or abridge it, I would wish that my Tongue were cut out of my Head. I am sure there were Law-Makers before there were Laws. One Gentleman went about to possess us with the Execution of the Law, in an ancient Record, under the fifth, or seventh Year of Edward the Third. Likely enough to be true in that Time, when the King was afraid of the Subject. If You stand upon Law, and dispute of the Prerogative, Hark what *Bracton* says, *Prærogativam nostram Nemo audeat disputare.* And, for my own Part, I like not these Courses should be taken. And, You, Mr. Speaker, should perform the Charge her Majesty gave unto You, in the Beginning of this Parliament, not to receive Bills of this Nature, for her Majesty's Ears to be open to all Grievances, and her Hands stretched out to every Man's Petitions.—When the Prince dispenses with a penal Law, that is left to the Alteration of Sovereignty, that is good, and irrevocable."

Mr. *Montagu* said; "I am loth to speak what I know, lest, perhaps, I should displease, The Prerogative-royal is that which is, now, in Question, and which the Laws of the Land have ever allowed, and maintained: Let us, therefore, apply, by Petition to her Majesty."

When the Speaker had informed the House that several of the Patents were annulled by *Elizabeth*, Mr. *Francis More* spoke thus: "Sir! I moved, both the last Parliament, and this, touching this Point; but I never meant (and, I hope the House thinketh so), to set Limits, and Bounds to the Prerogative-royal. I move that Thanks be given to her Majesty, and also, that, whereas divers Speeches have been moved extravagantly in the House, which, doubtless, have been told her Majesty, and perhaps, ill conceived by Her, Mr. Speaker would apologize, and humbly crave Pardon for the same."

These Extracts were taken by *Townsend*, a Member of the House of Commons, and not of the Court Party. Whatsoever Compliments the Queen may have paid the Parliament, She was evidently incensed at their Proceedings, and, towards the Conclusion of her Speech observed peevishly, that private Respects with Them were privately masked under public Presence (1).

During this Session, other Arguments still more fulsome, and absurd, were advanced in Favour of the Prerogative. On the Question for the Subsidy, Mr. Serjeant *Heyle* said; "Mr. Speaker! I marvel much that the House should stand upon granting of a Subsidy, or the Time of Payment, when all We have is her Majesty's; and She may, lawfully, at her Pleasure, take it from us. Yea, She hath as much Right to all our Lands, and Goods, as to any Revenue of her Crown."

(1) D'Ewes, p. 619.

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Crown." At this Expression, the House hemmed; and laughed, and whispered: "Well!" (subjoined the Serjeant,) all your Hemmings shall not put me out of Countenance." The Speaker then rose, and exclaimed, "It is a great Disorder that this House should be used."—The Serjeant again spoke; when, shortly, the House hemmed a second Time, and; He was obliged to sit down. In the last Part of his Speech, He observed that he could prove his former Position by *Précédents* in the Time of *Henry the Third*, *King John*, *Stephen*, and other Sovereigns. This it was which occasioned the Hemmings to be repeated (m). Notwithstanding that the Majority of the House appeared dissatisfied with the Remarks of *Heyle*, who was an eminent Lawyer, and a Man of Character (n), yet no Member ventured either openly to reprove Him, or to refute his monstrous Positions. During this Session, it was asserted that in the same Manner that the *Roman* Consul enjoyed the Power of rejecting, or admitting Motions in the Senate, the Speaker might either admit, or reject Bills in the House (o). The Commons indeed signified their Dissent from this Opinion, but it is justly observed, that the very Proposal of it must convince us at what a low Ebb Liberty was, at that *Era*, in *England* (p).

(m) D'Ewes, p. 633.

(n) Winwood, V. 1. p. 299.

(o) D'Ewes, p. 677.

(p) It may not be improper to observe, in this Place, that, in the Year, one Thousand five Hundred, and Ninety-one, the Judges made a solemn Decree that *England* was an absolute Empire, of which the King was the Head. In Consequence of this Opinion, They determined that, even if the Act of the first of *Elizabeth* had never been made, the King was the supreme Head of the Church; and, might have erected, by his Prerogative, such a Court as the ecclesiastical

The Reader hath already been informed that the Predecessors of *Elizabeth*, although not constitutionally invested with the Power of imposing Taxes, were accustomed to borrow, by arbitrary Modes, the Money of their Subjects. To these Expedients, the Queen made no Scruple of recurring, and frequently collected Loans from Several of her People; a Species of Imposition which hath justly been deemed arbitrary, and which Individuals felt severely, as, even under the very few Instances where the Money had been formally repaid (g), it lay in the Hands of the Sovereign, without Interest; and thus, the Persons from whom it was borrowed became considerable Losers (r).

As the Measure tended to the Detriment of Commerce, We think it necessary to observe that the Lord *Burleigh* proposed to raise from the People, a general Loan, equivalent to a Subsidy. This was, obviously, Taxation, without the Consent of Parliament. This Plan recommended unnecessarily by that discerning Statesman, had been executed under the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth; and *Charles* the First, exposed Himself

fiatistical Commission. For that he was the Head of all his Subjects. That Court was plainly arbitrary; and the Inference is that his Power was equally absolute over the Laity. —Coke's Reports, p. 5. —Caudry's Case.

(g) Bacon. V. 4. p. 362.

(r) In the second Year of the Reign of Richard, the Second, it was enacted that, in all Matters relating to Loans which the King shall require of his Subjects, upon Letters of Privy Seal, such as have a *reasonable* Excuse of not lending, may there be received, without farther Summons, Travel, or Grief. —Cotton's Abridgment. p. 170. Hence, it appears that this Law confirmed the royal Prerogative of exacting Loans, and that it was left to the King to determine what ought to be deemed a *reasonable* Excuse. —Hume.

Himself to the Repentment of his Subjects, by recurring to it, in the Midst of his Misfortunes (i).

Of the pernicious Consequences resulting from the Payment of Benevolences, the Reader hath already been informed. It will, in this Place, be sufficient to observe that the Parliament of *Elizabeth* gave a sanction to the Practice, and, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and, Eighty-five, made the Queen an Offer of a Benevolence, which, not being in Want of Money, She had the Prudence to refuse (i).

In this, as in the preceding Reign, the Customs were, in some Branches, augmented by an Order from the Council (u). When the *Spaniards* were busied in preparing their *Armada*, and collecting Forces, with an Intention to invade the Kingdom, a Kind of Ship-Money was levied from the People, and the different Ports were required to equip a stated Number of Vessels, at their own Expence. The Chearfulness, and Dispatch with which They answered this Demand, hath been already mentioned; and We need only remind the Reader that *London*, and several of the Ports supplied the Queen with twice the Number of the Ships, which had been asked for (x). Whensoever any Levies were made for *Ireland*, *France*, or the *Low-Countries*, *Elizabeth* obliged the Counties of *England* to raise, arm, cloath, and support the Soldiers, on their March to the respective Sea-Ports. At this *Era*, it was also, customary for the Nobility and the most opulent of the Gentry, to present the Sovereign with New-Year's Gifts (y).

§ 3

But

(i) Hume's History of England. V. 5. Appendix, 3.

(i) D'Ewes. p. 494.

(u) Bacon, V. 4. p. 362.

(x) Sir William Monson's naval Tracts. p. 267.

(y) Styrpe's Memoirs. V. 1. p. 137.

But, of all Obstacles to the Extension, and Prosperity of Commerce, the Right of Purveyance, deemed an ancient Prerogative of the Crown, was the most violently injurious. Under the Sanction of the royal Authority, the Officers of the Household took, at Rates within their own Discretion, all the Articles of Provision, from the neighbouring Counties. The Prices were fixed considerably below the Value, and the Payment of the Money, was generally distant, and, too frequently, uncertain. These Oppressions were severely felt, and murmured at by the Farmers, who received Orders to attend with their Carriages, for the Purpose either of bringing Provisions, and Goods, to one Court, or of removing Them to another (z). The Commons, alarmed at these Exactions, passed a Bill which was calculated to restrain Them; but the Lords refused to support it with their Concurrence (a). In the succeeding Session, the same Bill, and one designed to establish a new Regulation in the Court of Exchequer, were brought in, by the Lower-House, and carried to the Peers, who, instead of giving their Consent, desired an immediate Conference, at which they informed

(z) As the following Anecdote, which is not inapplicable to the Subject, hath been recurred to by Mr. Hume, We shall make no Apology for inserting it. "A Carter had, three Times, been at Windsor, with his Cart to carry away, upon Summons of a Remove, some Part of the Stuff of her Majesty's Wardrobe; and when He Had repaired thither, once, twice, and the third Time, and that They of the Wardrobe had told Him, the third Time, that the Remove held not, the Carter, clapping his Hand on his Thigh, said, *Now I see that the Queen is a Woman, as well as my Wife.* Which Words being overheard by her Majesty, who, then, stood at the Window, She said, *What a Villain is this?* and so sent Him three Angels to stop his Mouth."—Birch's Memoirs. V. 1. p. 155.

(a) D'Ewes. p. 534.

ed the Commons that the Queen had signified, in a Message delivered by the Lord *Burligh*, her high Displeasure, that They should dare to interfere with the Prerogative. She observed that "if there were any Abuses either in imposing Purveyance, or in the Practice of the Court of Exchequer, her Majesty was both able, and willing to provide Reformation, but would not permit the Parliament to intermeddle with these Matters (b)." The Commons were, now, eager to extenuate their Offence, and directed a select Committee to wait upon *Elizabeth*, and endeavour, in all Duty, and Humility, to convince Her that no intentional Guilt had actuated their Proceedings. At this Audience, She expatiated on her *inestimable loving Care* of all her Subjects; observing that "it was greater than of her own Self, or even than any of them could have of Themselves." She added, that She "had already given Orders for an Inquiry into the Abuses attending Purveyance, but the Dangers of the *Spanish* Invasion had retarded the Progress of that Design;" that She had as much Skill, Will and Power to rule her own Household, as any Subjects whatsoever to govern theirs, and needed as little the Assistance of her Neighbours; that "the Exchequer was her Chamber, consequently more near to Her than even her Household, and therefore, the less proper for them to intermeddle with;" and that "She would of Herself, with the Advice of her Council, and of the Judges, redress every Grievance in these Matters, but would not permit the Commons, by Laws moved without her Privy, to bereave Her of the Honour attending these Regulations (c)."

(b) D'Ewes. p. 440.

(c) Ibid. p. 444.

Our great Historian (*d*) judiciously observes that the Issue of this Business was of the same Nature with that of every Contest between *Elizabeth*, and her Parliaments (*e*). In this Particular, She appeared to have acted more arbitrarily than her Predecessors, who frequently countenanced a legal Redress of the Abuses resulting from Purveyance. *Edward*, the Third, an imperious Despot, permitted ten Statutes to be enacted for that Purpose.

It was by the Exertion of this Branch of the Prerogative that *Elizabeth* victualled her Navy, during the first Years of her Reign (*f*). Yet, not alone on this Occasion, were the Hardships arising from such Impositions severely felt in every Quarter of the Kingdom, except the Universities of *Oxford*, and of *Cambridge*, in which Places, and the adjacent Districts within the Compass of five Miles, the Purveyors were not suffered to take any Necessaries, or Commodities whatsoever. Elsewhere, these tyrannical Exactors were free from the least Controul, and grew wanton in Oppressions which almost exceed Belief (*g*); and which are pertinently observed (*h*), to have been sufficient for the Extinction of all regular Liberty, as no Elector, nor Member of Parliament, nor even Jurymen, durst oppose the Will of the Court, whilst He lay under the Lash of such an arbitrary Prerogative. We cannot present the Reader with a more striking Picture of the Enormities committed by Purveyors, than the Speech which the illustrious *Bacon* delivered against Them (*i*),

(*d*) Mr. Hume.

(*e*) *Si Rixa est, ubi pulsas, Ego vapula tantum.*

Juvenal.

(*f*) Camden. p. 388.

(*g*) Journals of the House of Commons. V. 1. p. 190.

(*h*) Mr. Hume.

(*i*) Bacon's Works, V. 4. p. 305. 306.

observes that the Nature with that and her Parliament appeared to have cessors, who fre- of the Abuses ard, the Third, n Statutes to be

much of the Prero- Navy, during the not alone on this from such Impe- of the Kingdom, and of Cambridge, districts within the were not suffered dities whatsoever. ra were free from on in Oppressions d which are per- sufficient for the s no Elektor, nor aryman, durst op- He lay under the We cannot pre- ing Picture of the , than the Speech against Them (i), in

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Juvenal.

ns. V. 1. p. 199.

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in the first Session of the first Parliament of the subse-
quent Reign (A)."

"First, They take in Kind what they ought not to
"take; secondly, They take in Quantity, a far greater
"Proportion than cometh to your Majesty's Use;
"thirdly, They take in an unlawful Manner, in a
"Manner, I say, directly, and expressly prohibited
"by the several Laws. For the first, I am a little to
"alter their Name; for, instead of Takers, They
"become Taxers; instead of taking Provision for
"your Majesty's Service, They tax your People *ad re-*
"*dimendam Vexationem*; imposing upon Them, and
"extorting from Them divers Sums of Money, some-
"times in Gross, sometimes in the Nature of Stipends
"annually paid, *ne nocent*, to be freed, and eased of
"their Oppressions. Again, They take Trees, which,
"by Law, They cannot do; Timber Trees which are
"the Beauty, Countenance, and Shelter of Men's
"Houses; that Men have long spared from their own
"Purse, and Profit; that Men esteem for their Use,
"and Delight, above ten Times their Value; that are
"a Loss which Men cannot repair, or recover. These
"do They take, to the defacing, and spoiling of your
"Subjects, Mansions, and Dwellings, except They
"may be compounded with to their own Appetites.
"And, if a Gentleman be too hard for Them, while
"He is at Home, They will watch their Time,
"when there is but a Bailiff, or a Servant remaining,
"and put the Axe to the Root of the Tree, ere ever
"the Master can stop it. Again, they use a strange,
"and most unjust Exaction, in causing the Subjects
"to pay Poundage of their own Debts, due from your
"Majesty

(A) It appears from this Speech that Elizabeth had not
redressed the Grievances which were complained of,

" Majesty unto Them ; so as a poor Man, when He
 " has had his Hay, or his Wood, or his Poultry,
 " (which, perchance, He was full loth to part with,
 " and had, for the Provision of his own Family, and
 " not to put to Sale,) taken from Him, and that not
 " at a just Price, but under the Value, and cometh to
 " receive his Money, He shall have, after the Rate of
 " twelve Pence in the Pound, abated for Poundage of
 " his due Payment upon so hard Conditions. Nay,
 " farther, They are grown to that Extremity, (as is
 " affirmed, though scarce credible, save that in such
 " Persons all Things are credible,) that they will take
 " double Poundage, once, when the Debenture is
 " made, and again, the second Time, when the Mo-
 " ney is paid. For the second Point, most gracious
 " Sovereign touching the Quantity which They take,
 " far above that which is answered to your Majesty's
 " Use, it is affirmed unto me, by divers Gentlemen
 " of good Report, as a Matter which I may safely
 " avouch unto your Majesty, that there is no Pound-
 " Profit, which redoundeth unto your Majesty, in this
 " Course, but induceth, and begetteth three Pounds
 " Damage upon your Subjects, besides the Discon-
 " tentment. And, to the End, that They may make
 " their Spoil more securely, what do They ? Whereas,
 " divers Statutes do strictly provide, that whatsoever
 " They take shall be registered, and attested, to the
 " End that, by making a Collation of that which is
 " taken from the Country, and that which is answered
 " above, their Deceits might appear, They, to the End
 " to obscure their Deceits, utterly omit the Observa-
 " tion of this, which the Law prescribeth. And, there-
 " fore, to descend, if it may please your Majesty, to
 " the third Sort of Abuse, which is of the unlawful
 " Manner of their taking, whereof this Question is a
 " Branch ;

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" Branch ; it is so manifold, as it rather asketh an Enumeration of some of the Particulars, than a Prosecution of all. For their Price, by Law, They ought to take, as they can agree with the Subject ; by Abuse, They take at an imposed, and enforced Price. By Law, They ought to make but one Apprize-ment, by the Neighbours in the Country ; by Abuse, They make a second, Apprize-ment, at the Court, and when the Subject's Cattle come up many Miles, lean, and out of Plight by Reason of their Travel, then They prize Them anew, at an abated Price ; by Law, They ought to take between Sun, and Sun ; by Abuse, They take by Twilight, and in the Night-Time, a Time well-chosen for Malefactors ; by Law, They ought not to take in the High-Ways, (a Place by her Majesty's Prerogative protected, and by Statute, by special Words, excepted ;) by Abuse, They take in the High-Ways : by Law, They ought to shew their Commission, &c. A Number of other Particulars there are, &c. &c."

As the Sovereign was restrained from the Power of imposing Taxes, the Subjects concluded that their Property was safe, but the fertile, and uninterrupted Resources of Despotism, in the Practice of Extortion, too fatally convinced Them of their Error. It would be difficult to adduce a stronger Proof of an oppressive Mode of Government than the Proposal of the Lord *Burleigh*, for the Institution of a Court, designed to correct all Abuses, and to arm the Commissioners with an inquisitorial Power, over all the Nation. To persuade *Elizabeth* to adopt the Measure, (if to so imperious a Princess, Persuasion could be necessary,) He refers Her to the Conduct of her politic Predecessor, King *Henry*, the Seventh, who by such Expedients, considerably augmented his Revenue ; and He advises, that
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this arbitrary Court, should regulate their Pursuits, "as well by the Direction, and ordinary Course of the Laws, as by Virtue of her Majesty's supreme Regiment, and absolute Power from whence Law proceeded." To place the Scheme in a seducing Point of View, He artfully observes that it would bring a larger Quantity of Treasure into the royal Coffers, than Henry, the Eighth, had gained from the Abolition of religious Houses, and all the Forfeitures of ecclesiastical Revenues (l).

The Reader hath already seen how fatally the Interests of Commerce were affected, during the Reign of Mary, who laid Embargoes on the various Articles of Merchandize. To this oppressive Practice, Elizabeth recurred, even previous to her Coronation, and directed the Custom-House to prevent the Sale of all imported crimson Silks, until the Court should have been first provided (m). It is shrewdly observed that She expected, without Doubt, a good Pennyworth from the Merchants, whilst They lay under this Restraint (n).

The parliamentary Laws for the Advancement, and Security of Trade, were not allowed to weigh a Feather in the Scale with the dispensing Power of the Crown, which trampled, at Pleasure, on all the Statutes, and perpetually, evaded the Means adopted by the Commons for the Restriction of Monopolies. These were frequently granted to a single Individual, who, on such an Occasion, was permitted by the Sovereign, to transgress the penal Laws (o), a frequent Dispensing with which

(l) Strype's Annals, V. 4. p. 234. et seq.

(m) Strype, V. 1. p. 27.

(n) Mr. Hume.

(o) Rymer. Tom. 15. p. 756.—D'Ewes, p. 646.

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which was a Grievance, at that *Æra*, severely felt, and bitterly complained of (p).

The Proclamation of the Crown which, in all Cases whatsoever, were sufficient to invalidate the Edicts of the Parliament, and which were enforced by the Star-Chamber, with a Rigour not usually employed for the Maintenance of the Laws, proved often as extravagantly ridiculous, as They were evidently oppressive. The Queen, pretending that the smell of Wood was offensive to her Nostrils, forbade all Persons within the Kingdom to cultivate that serviceable Plant (q). She was equally disgusted at the prevailing Mode of wearing long Swords, and high Ruffs; and directed her Officers to break the first, and clip the last, if they exceeded a stated Measure (r). Even in the Impunity with which this absurd Order was executed against Offenders of the highest Rank, may We trace the slavish Submission of the People to the Forms of Government, during that Period. The Despot who attempts to extirpate Fashion, of all Tyrants the most arbitrary, and respected, engages in a Post of Danger. The favourite Ornaments of the Person were sacrificed, by the *English*, without the slightest Opposition to the capricious Humour of *Elizabeth*. It was less tamely that the *Spaniard* resigned his Cloak, or that the *Russian* cut off his Beard.

During the preceding Reigns, the Rights of Commerce were exposed to violent Invasions from the abominable Practice of issuing Crown-Warrants to pervert the Courts of Justice. With equal Falsehood, and Adulation, the Parliament, in the thirteenth Year from

(p) Murden. p. 325.

(q) Townshend's Journals, p. 259.—Stowe's Annals.

(r) Ibid.—Strype, V. 2. p. 603.

her Accession, delivered an Address of Thanks to *Elizabeth*, for not proceeding to these Acts of Tyranny, and ascribed to Her a Virtue of which She was incapable (1). Amongst the public Records, her Warrants, enforcing the Exemption of particular Individuals from all Law-Suits, and Prosecutions, are still extant (2); and She therein observes that They are granted by Virtue of her royal Prerogative, which She will not suffer to be called in Question.

Whilst *Elizabeth* ruled over the *English*, her Nobles, and the Members of the Privy Council, were accustomed to cast such of their Creditors into Prison, as had unfortunately offended by suing for their lawful Debts. It was of little Consequence that the Plaintiff had gained his Cause in the Courts of Justice, since to procure his Liberty, He was too frequently compelled to resign his Property to the Defendant. Several who had been released from Prison, by Order of the Judges, were seized clandestinely, and confined to hidden Dungeons, from whence it was impossible to escape. If the Officers, and Serjeants, whose Business it was to execute the Writs in Favour of these wretched Individuals, persisted in the Performance of their Duty, They, frequently, were severely punished. The Pursuivants, an execrable Banditti, continually in waiting to receive the Order of the Council, and the High-Commission, were, sometimes, dispatched into the Country, to lay violent Hands on these obnoxious Creditors, and bring Them up to *London*, where They were closely imprisoned, until They consented to withdraw their legal Suit, and pay the exorbitant Demands of the Pursuivants, for the Expences of their Journey. Of the Frequency of these

(1) D'Ewes, p. 141.

(2) Rymer, Tom. 15. p. 652. 708. 777.

these detestable Proceedings, the Judges made a formal Complaint, in the Thirty-fourth Year of the Reign of *Elizabeth*. It is pertinently observed, that so shocking a Tyranny may, perhaps, have ceased at the Accession of *James*, the First, since the Parliament, who presented the Petition of Right, found no later Instances of it (u). It is remarkable that even the Judges, who at this *Æra*, endeavoured to shield the People from the Oppression of the Great, expressly affirmed that a Person committed by an especial Command from the Queen was not bailable.

A profound Historian (x) deems it worthy of our Notice, that the Advantage usually ascribed to absolute Monarchy, a greater Regularity of Police, and a more strict Execution of the Laws, did not attend the former *English* Government, although in many Respects, it fell under that Denomination. This is evident from a Paper, written in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety-six, by a discerning Magistrate in the County of *Somerset*, at a Period when, "the Authority of *Elizabeth* may be supposed to have been fully corroborated by Time, and her Maxims of Government improved by long Practice." The Memorials (p) here alluded to contain, a Recital of those Disorders which, during that Period, had been committed in *Somersetshire*. In the Course of one Year, forty Criminals suffered Death, within this District, for Robberies, Thefts, and various Felonies, thirty-five were burnt in the Hand; thirty-seven, whipped, and one hundred, and eighty-three discharged. It is observed "that These last were the most wicked, and desperate,

(u) Rushworth. V. 1. p. 511.—Franklyn's Annals. p. 250. 251.—Hume's History of England, Appendix. 3.

(x) Mr. Hume.

(y) Strype's Annals, V. 4. p. 290.

desperate, who never could come to any Good, because They would not work, and None would take Them into Service; that, notwithstanding this great Number of Indictments, the fifth Part of the Felonies committed in the County were not brought to a Trial; that the Majority escaped Censure, either from the superior Cunning of the Felons, the Negligence of the Magistrates, or the foolish Lenity of the People; that the Thefts committed by a Multitude of abandoned, and idle Wanderers, were intolerable to the poor Countrymen, and obliged Them to watch continually over their Sheep-Folds, their Pastures, and their Corn-Fields; that the other Counties of *England* were in no better a Condition than *Somersetshire*; and many of Them were even in a worse Condition; that there were at least three, or four hundred able bodied Vagabonds in every County, who lived by Rapine, and who sometimes met in Troops, to the Number of sixty, and committed Spoil on the Inhabitants; that if all the Felons of this Kind were assembled, They would be able, if reduced to a good Subjection, to give the greatest Enemy her Majesty has a *strong Battle*; that the Justices themselves were intimidated from executing the Laws upon Them; and there were Examples of Magistrates, who, after giving Sentence against Rogues, had interposed to stop the Execution of it, on Account of the Danger which hung over Them from the Confederates of these Felons."

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-five, the defective Execution of the Laws was complained of, in Parliament, by *Elizabeth*, who declared that if the Magistrates persisted in their Negligence, She would order Commissions of the Peace to be filled up, for those needy Individuals, who might

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make a Trade of Justice (z). This Appointment ap-
 pears to have taken Place, and when the Conduct of the
 Magistrates was called in Question, by the House of
 Commons, in the Year, one Thousand, six Hundred,
 and One, a Member said that this Justice of the Peace
 was an Animal who, for half a dozen of Chickens, would
 dispense with a dozen of penal Statutes (a). The great
 Historian (b), to whom We are indebted for the Ar-
 rangement of these miscellaneous Facts, observes that
 it is not easy to account for this Relaxation of Govern-
 ment, and Neglect of Police, during a Reign of so
 much Vigour as that of Elizabeth. He adds, that the
 small Revenue of the Crown is the likeliest Cause that
 can be assigned; and that it was not in the Power of the
 Queen to interest a great Number in assisting Her to
 execute the Laws.

We have already remarked (c) that the Sloth, and
 Wickedness of the Multitude, together with the Num-
 ber of Felons, and Debtors in Confinement, must have
 considerably retarded the Extension of Commerce; and
 We shall now remind the Reader that, although Exe-
 cutions were not so frequent in the Time of Elizabeth;
 as during the Reign of Henry the Eighth, yet between
 three, and four hundred Criminals were hanged yearly
 for Theft, and Robbery. This will lead us to infer
 that the Morals of the People were less vicious towards
 the Close, than at the Commencement of the sixteenth
 Century; and, by a Parity of Reasoning, it may be
 added that our own Times are still more uncorrupted,
 when not an hundred Persons are annually executed

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(z) D'Ewes, p. 234.

(a) Ibid. p. 661, 664.

(b) Mr. Hume.

(c) Volume the first, p. 480.

for these Offences. But it is not by the rare Occurrence of capital Punishments, that We can positively form a Judgment concerning the Multitude of Delinquents; and the Historian (*d*) himself laments that the Rigour of the penal Laws was not more frequently enforced against Culprits of this Kind. He adds (*e*) that the Number of Gipsies, in *England* during that *Æra* (*f*) amounted to ten thousand; and affirms that there is no Way of extirpating Them, in the ordinary Course of Justice, and that the Queen must proceed against Them, by martial Law.

We cannot but observe that of all Modes of Trial, this was the most arbitrary, and oppressive. A single Instance will suffice to shew how uncontrouled, and detrimental a Power the Sovereign possessed over the Life, and Property of the Subject. At one Period, during the Reign of *Elizabeth*, the Streets of *London*, were infested with dissolute, and daring Vagabonds. The Lord Mayor, in vain, exerted his Authority against Them; and the Star-Chamber to almost as little Purpose, had punished Several of the Offenders. At Length, the Queen judged it necessary to interpose, and, reviving the martial Law, invested Sir *Thomas Wilson*, with the Commission of Provost, "granting Him Authority, and commanding Him, upon Signification given by the Justices of the Peace, in *London*, or the neighbouring Counties, of such Offenders, worthy to be speedily executed by martial Law, to attach, and take the said Persons, and in the Presence of the said Justices, according to Justice of martial Law, to execute Them upon

(*d*) *Harrison*. Book 2. Chap. 11.

(*e*) *Ibid*. Chap. 10.

(*f*) These Vagabonds gained a Footing within the Kingdom, in the Reign of *Henry*, the Eighth, and seem now to have entirely disappeared.

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" upon the Gallows, or Gibbet openly, or near to
 " such Place where the said rebellious, and incorrigible
 " Offenders shall be found to have committed the said
 " great Offences (g)." It is justly observed, (h) that
 it would be difficult to produce an Instance of such an
 Act of Authority, in any Place, nearer than *Muscovy*.
 Of the Nature of the Office, We may form a Judgment
 from the Patent granted to Earl *Rivers*, by *Edward*,
 the Fourth. The Powers are unlimited, perpetual,
 and remain in Force, during Peace, as well as during
 War, and Rebellion. In the Reign of *Edward*,
 the Sixth, the Parliament considered the Jurisdiction
 of the Constable, and Marshal's Court, as Part of the
 Law of the Land (i).

A Punishment still more detrimental, and oppressive
 than the preceding Act, as not being ratified by any
 Form of Trial, was frequently inflicted, at this Period,
 under the simple Authority of a Warrant, either from
 the Privy-Council, or the Secretary of State (k). The
 obnoxious Persons, of which, in Times of Suspicion, and
 public Danger, the Jails were full, (cast into a loathsome
 Dungeon, and fettered to the Floor,) could obtain no
 Remedy from the Law, but were obliged to languish
 under all the Cruelties of Confinement, during the
 Pleasure of the Minister.

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In

(g) Rymer, Vol. 17. 279.

(h) Hume's History of England, Appendix. 3.

(i) Edw. 6. Cap. 20.—Sir John Davis's Questions concerning Impositions, p. 9.

(k) In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty-eight, the Lord Mayor of London imprisoned several Citizens, who had refused to pay the Loan which was required of Them.

(l) Sir John Davis's Questions concerning Impositions. passim.

In Spite of all the Obstacles which the arbitrary Conduct of *Elizabeth* had raised against the Progress, and Felicity of Commerce; notwithstanding that She assumed a supreme, and unlimited Authority, in every Department of foreign Trade; nor without her Consent, allowed an Individual to enter, or to quit the Kingdom; although no Commodity was suffered to be either imported, or exported, but with her previous Approbation; and Monopolies, the Bane of Industry, were perpetually countenanced; yet it cannot be denied that She was anxious to promote the Interests of Trade, and frequently advanced, with equal Spirit, and Discernment, in its Support. To the Truth of this Assertion, the following Circumstance is a memorable Evidence.

Soon after the Accession of *Elizabeth* to the Throne, the Merchants of the *Hanse Towns* complained, in severe Terms, of the Injuries which They had received, during the Reigns of her Predecessors *Edward*, the Sixth, and *Queen Mary*. She wisely answered that as She was resolved not to admit any Innovation, so would She protect Them still in the Enjoyment of those Immunities, and Privileges, which They had hitherto possessed. At this Reply, They were so imprudent as to express their Dissatisfaction, and, soon afterwards, their Commerce underwent a temporary Suspension, to the singular Advantage of the *English* Merchants, who, having taken the whole Trade into their Hands, and met with fortunate Returns, divided Themselves into two Companies of Staplers, and of Merchant-Adventurers. The First were confined to a fixed Residence; the Others proceeded to foreign States, and Towns, in Order to sell their Cloth, and various Manufactures. Inflamed with Rage, and Envy, at their Success, the Merchants of the *Hanse Towns* resorted to every Artifice in their Power, to expose these enterprising Traders

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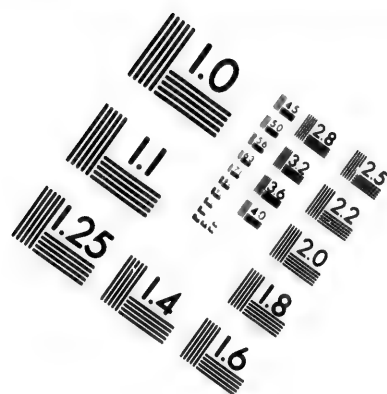
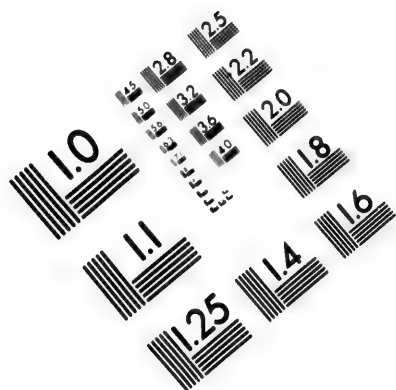
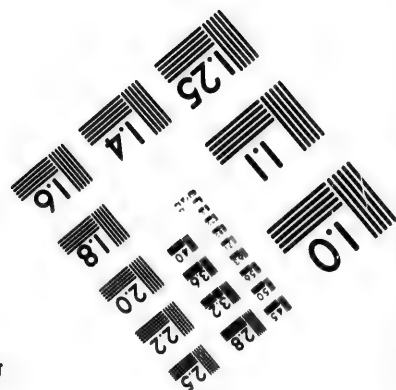
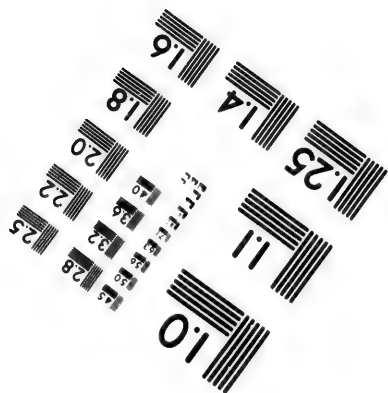
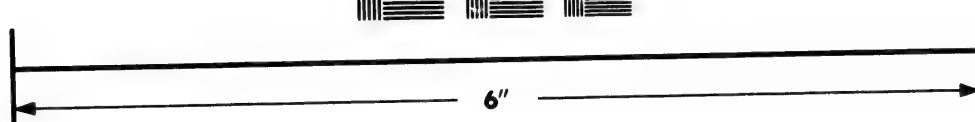
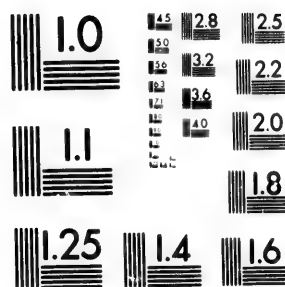


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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 469

to the Disapprobation of the *European* Countries; but these Measures were insufficient to stop the Current of that extensive Commerce, into which their Rivals had now, entered, and reduced Them to the Necessity of adopting a different Project, for the Gratification of their Revenge.

They applied to the Emperor, as being a Society incorporated within his Dominions, and prevailed on Him to send Ambassadors to *England*, in Order to adjust the Matter with *Elizabeth*; but These returned, without having succeeded in their Negotiations. Soon afterwards, the Queen directed, by Proclamation, that the Merchants from the *Hanse Towns*, should be treated, in Points of Commerce, like all Foreigners, and without the least particular Distinction. At length, an imperial Edict was issued to prohibit the *English* Merchants from trading within the Empire. The Queen retaliated by another Proclamation, (*) in Consequence of which sixty Ships in the Service of the *Hanse Towns*, and freighted with contraband Goods for the Use of the *Spaniards*, were seized on the River *Tagus*. These Vessels *Elizabeth* intended to have restored, as sincerely desiring that all Differences with those trading Cities might quickly be compromised; but, having learned that a general Assembly was convened at the City of *Lubeck*, in Order to concert Measures for the Annoyance of the *English* Commerce, She caused the Ships, and their Cargoes, to be confiscated. Only two of Them were released to carry Home the News, and in-

H h 3 form

(*) The imperial Edict of the Emperor Rodolphus, the Second, bears Date on the first of August, in the Year, one Thousand five Hundred, and Ninety-seven, and, together, with the Proclamation issued by Elizabeth, on the thirteenth of January following, may be found in Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce, p. 80. 93.

form the States that She felt the greatest Contempt imaginable for all their Proceedings (n).

Soon after this Event, *Sigismund*, King of *Poland*, interposed in behalf of the *Hanse Towns*, and dispatched an Ambassador to the *English* Court, who, talking in too imperious a Stile, was severely reprimanded by *Elizabeth*, who told Him, that his Sovereign had formed a false Estimate of his own Power, and that He Himself was very unfit for the Employment in which She found Him (o). Thus, were the *English* freed for ever from these incorporated foreign Factors, and their own Merchants established in the Right of managing their Commerce. Towards the Conclusion of the Reign of *Elizabeth*, some Disputes arising between that Princess and the King of *Denmark*, who, most unadvisedly, seized the *English* Ships within his Harbours, Doctor *Parkins* was sent to demand an instant, and immediate Satisfaction. This He did, in so peremptory, and menacing a Stile, that the *Danish* Sovereign expressed his Sorrow for the Affront which the *English* had received, and, as a Peace-Offering, presented *Elizabeth* with forty thousand Dollars; a Sum proportioned to the Losses suffered by the injured Merchants, and which was, afterwards, in Consequence of an Order from the Queen, divided equally amongst Them (p).

The Zeal, and Assiduity with which *Elizabeth* endeavoured to amend, and support the marine Establishment of the Kingdom, have been already noticed; and, therefore,

(n) Camden. V. 3. p. 604. 606, 748.—Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce.—Molloy de Jure maritimo, Lib. 2. Cap. 12.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 502.

(o) Speed, p. 871. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 503.

(p) Stowe, p. 787.—Lord Burleigh's Diary in Murdin's Collection.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 504.

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therefore, it will not be necessary to lay before the Reader, a tedious Detail of every minuter Circumstance connected with the Subject. Suffice it to remark, that in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty-three, an Act passed for the better Regulation, Maintenance, and Increase of the Navy (q). In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty-six, the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Trinity House were empowered by Law, to erect Beacons, and Sea-Marks (r). At this Period, also, the royal Assent was given to a Bill for incorporating, and more effectually establishing the Company of Merchant Adventurers (s). In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-one, an Act took Place for the Augmentation of Mariners, and the Support of Navigation, and, more especially for the Recovery of the Trade to *Iceland*, which was then verging to Decay, and, in which there had been employed annually upwards of two hundred Sail of stout Ships (t).

As the Multitude of Inhabitants is one of the greatest Sinews of Commerce, it cannot in this Place, be improper to remark, that, Sir *Edward Coke*, informed the House of Commons that He, and *Popham*, the chief Justice, in their Survey of all the People of *England*, discovered the Number to amount to nine hundred Thousand (u). The Reader will be surprized at this Scarcity of Individuals, and naturally suppose, that the Calculation was erroneous. *Guicciardini*, with a greater Probability, fixes the Number of Inhabitants, in *England*,

H h 4

(q) See the Statute, 1. Eliz. Cap. 5.

(r) Anno 8. Eliz. Cap. 13.

(s) Hackluyt. V. 1. p. 394.

(t) Anno 22 Eliz. Cap. 7.—*Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, V. 1. p. 504.

(u) Journals of the House of Commons, Apr. 25, 1621.

land, during the Life-Time of *Elizabeth*, at two Millions.

It is sagaciously remarked by a late philosophical Inquirer (*x*), that whatsoever Opinion We may be inclined to form of the comparative Populousness of *England*, at different Periods, it must be confessed that there is a vast Increase of Power in the Kingdom; more perhaps, than in any *European* State since the Commencement of the last Century. He adds, that it would be no Paradox to affirm that *Ireland* alone could, at present, exert a greater Force than all the three Kingdoms were capable of, at the Demise of *Elizabeth*. It might even be asserted that one well inhabited County in *England*, is able to make, or at least, to support a greater Effort than the whole Kingdom was equal to in the Reign of *Henry*, the Fifth, when the Maintenance of a Garrison, in a small Town, like *Calais*, formed more than a Third of the ordinary national Expence. Such is the prosperous Result of Liberty, Industry, and well-directed Modes of Government (*y*).

The Branches of Trade confined, at this Period, to *English* Manufactures, were, still, at a low Ebb, and the Dealers were accustomed to prefer the Articles of Foreign Commerce (*z*). About the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety, only four Persons were rated in the Subsidy-Book, so high as four hundred Pounds (*a*). Yet, not from this Computation can we form any positive Idea of their Affluence. In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Sixty-seven,

(*x*) Mr. Hume.

(*y*) Idem. History of England, V. 5. p. 482. Appendix. 3.

(*z*) D'Ewes, p. 505.

(*a*) Id. p. 497.

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V. 5. p. 482. Appen-

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 473

it appeared, on Inquiry, that the Number of Strangers from the different Nations, and residing in *London*, amounted to four thousand, and eight hundred, and fifty-one. Of These, three Thousand, eight Hundred, and Thirty-eight were *Flemings*, and only fifty-eight *Scots* (b). The violent Persecutions in the *Low-Countries*, and in *France*, obliged Multitude of Foreigners to flee for Refuge into *England*, where they increased, and amended by their commercial Knowledge, and the Practice of the Arts to which They had been trained, the various Manufactures of the Kingdom (c). It was at this *Æra*, that Sir *Thomas Gresham* constructed, at his own Expence, the magnificent Fabric, for the Reception of the Merchants. *Elizabeth* condescended to visit it, in great Solemnity, and directed that it should be named the *Royal Exchange*.

We must subscribe to the ingenious Remark (d) that by a lucky Accident in Language, which hath a powerful Effect on Ideas, the invidious Term, *Usury*, which formerly meant the taking of any Interest for Money, came, now to express only the taking of exorbitant, and illegal Interest. By an Act, passed in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-one, all *Usury* was prohibited, under severe Penalties, but the Lenders were permitted to receive at the Rate of ten *per Cent* for Interest. *Henry* the Fourth, of *France*, reduced Interest to the Rate of six, and a half, *per Cent*; a Circumstance which hath been considered (e), as an Indication of the great Superiority of *France* over *England*, in Points of Commerce.

Elizabeth,

(b) Haynes, p. 461, 462.

(c) Stowe, p. 668.

(d) Hume's History of England, V. 5. Appendix 3.

(e) Ibid.

Elizabeth, in the third Year of her Reign, is said to have been presented by her Silk-Woman, with a Pair of black Silk knit Stockings, and from that Time, forsook her cloth Hose (*f*). The first knit Stockings which appeared in *England*, were worn, at this Period, by *William Herbert*, Earl of *Pembroke*, and given to Him by *William Rider*, an Apprentice near *London Bridge*, who, having observed, at the House of a Merchant, within the City, a Pair fabricated at *Mantua*, had the Ingenuity to make another of exactly the same Kind (*g*). In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Seventy-seven, Pocket-Watches, a more valuable Branch of Commerce, and supposed to have been invented at *Nuremberg*, were brought into *England*, from *Germany*. The first Coach that had ever been publicly seen in *England*, was the Equipage of *Henry Fitz-Allan*, Earl of *Arundel* (*h*). Previous to that *Æra*, the Queen was accustomed to ride behind her Chamberlain.

In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty-one, the Office of Post-Master-General of *England*, was conferred by *Elizabeth*, on *Thomas Randolph*, who had frequently served Her, at foreign Courts, in the Character of Ambassador (*i*). Notwithstanding this early Establishment, it seems evident from the Regulations made, in the Reign of *Charles*, the First, that few Post-Houses were constructed before the Year, one Thousand, six Hundred, and Thirty-five.

The

(*f*) Howel's History of the World, V. 2. p. 222.

(*g*) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 869.

(*h*) Anderson's History of Commerce, V. 1. p. 421.—The Coach was of French Invention, as is, also, the Post-Chaise, which was brought into England, by Mr. Tull, the Son of the celebrated Writer on Husbandry.

(*i*) Camden,

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The *Hanse Towns*, in their Remonstrance to the Diet of the Empire, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred and Eighty, appear to have exceeded the Bounds of Truth, when They affirmed that *England* exported, annually, about two hundred thousand Pieces of Cloth (k).

In the fifth Year of this Reign, the first Law was enacted for the Relief of the Poor; and, in the eighth Year the Interests of domestic Commerce were essentially advanced by an Act, which declared that no Man should send any Rams, Sheep, or Lambs alive, out of the Realm, upon Pain, for the first Offence, of the Forfeiture of all his Goods, and Imprisonment during one Year; and, for the second Offence, of being declared a Felon.

The general Observation that Depopulation follows the Increase of Inclosures, and the Decay of Tillage, is confirmed, by a sagacious Writer (l), during this Epoch. He imputes it to the Restraints placed on the Exportation of Corn; whilst full Liberty was allowed for that of Wool, Hides, Tallow, Leather, and all the Produce of Pasturage. These Prohibitions of Exportation are observed (m), to have been derived from the Prerogative, and were doubtless, extremely injudicious. At one Period, in the Commencement of her Reign, *Elizabeth* pursued a contrary Practice, and had the good Fortune to succeed. The Author whom We have already mentioned (n), takes Notice, like our present Writers, of the high Prices of the various Necessaries of Existence; and, having remarked that, in twenty, or thirty Years before the Year, one Thousand, five

(k) Anderson's History of Commerce, V. 1. p. 424.

(l) A compendious, or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Countrymen.

(m) Hume's History of England, Appendix, 3.

(n) Compendious, or brief Examination, &c.

five Hundred, and Eighty-one, Commodities had, in general, risen, at least fifty *per Cent*, He states the following Question: "Cannot You, Neighbour! remember that, within these thirty Years, I could, in this Town, buy the best Pig, or Goose, I could lay my Hands on for Four-pence, which now costeth Twelve-pence; a good Capon, for Three-pence, or Four-pence; a Chicken, for a Penny; and a Hen, for Two-pence (o)." It must be allowed that there have been two Periods in which Prices rose remarkably in England; the First, during the Reign of *Elizabeth*, when They are computed to have doubled; and the Second, in the present Age. Between the two, there seems to have been a Stagnation. It would appear, (continues our great Historian,) that Industry during that intermediate Period, increased as fast as Gold, and Silver, and kept Commodities nearly at a Par with Money (p).

The Difference of the Value of Money, during the Reign of *Elizabeth*, and, at the present Period, in the two Kingdoms of *England*, and of *France*, is evident from the following Circumstance: When Sir *Francis Walsingham* was resident at *Paris*, on an Embassy from the Queen, He received a Letter from the Earl of *Leicester*, who desired Him to send over a Riding-Master from that Country, and agreed to allow Him the annual Stipend of one hundred Pounds, exclusive of a Maintenance for Himself, a Servant, and a Couple of Horses. "I know" (observes the Earl,) "that such a Man as I want may receive higher Wages in *France*: But, let Him consider that a Shilling in *England*, goes as far as two Shillings in *France* (q)."

The

(o) Ibid. p. 35. Yet the Price of ordinary Labour was eight Pence a Day — Ibid. p. 31.

(p) Hume's History of England. Appendix.

(q) Digges's compleat Ambassador.

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The Nobles of this Æra were still accustomed to keep open House, and display their Passion for Magnificence, and Hospitality. It is probable that in the Multitude of their Retainers, They would have equalled their Predecessors, if *Elizabeth* had not confined Them, by Proclamation, to a stated Number (r). Of the Expences incurred by luxurious Entertainments, and every Circumstance of Domestic Splendor, She had formed a different Idea, and convinced her Courtiers, by perpetual Visits, that She chose rather to encourage, than suppress Them (s). At a Feast, prepared for Her by the Earl of *Leicester*, in his Castle at *Kenilworth*, which had been fortified at a vast Expence, and contained Arms for ten thousand Men (t), no Limits were placed either to Pomp, or Cost. As an Instance of the last, We learn that the Number of Hogheads of strong Beer, which were drank at the Entertainment, amounted to three Hundred, and Sixty-five (u). The Earl

(r) *Strype*, V. 3. Appendix. p. 54.

(s) A contemporary Writer, having mentioned the Number of the Palaces belonging to *Elizabeth*, proceeds thus : " But, what shall I need to take upon me to repeat all, and tell what Houses the Queen's Majesty's hath ? Sirh all is hers : and, when it pleaseth Her in the Summer Season to recreate Herself abroad, and view the Estate of the Country, and hear the Complaints of her poor Commons injured by her unjust Officers, or their Substitutes, every Nobleman's House is her Palace, where She continueth during Pleasure, and till She return again to some of her own, in which She remaineth as long as She pleaseth." — *Harrison*, B. 2. C. 15. — It is pertinently observed, that if *Elizabeth* relieved the People from Oppressions, (to whom the Law could give no Relief,) her Visits were a great Oppression to the Nobility. — *Hume's History of England*. Appendix, 3.

(t) *Strype*, V. 3. p. 394.

(u) *Biogr. Brit.* V. 3. p. 179.

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Appendix.
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of Derby, of whom the Historian (x) hath remarked that, "with his Death the Glory of Hospitality appeared to have fallen asleep," kept two hundred, and forty menial Servants, continually in Pay (y); Sixty aged Persons were daily fed twice at his Expence. On all Good Fridays, during the Space of five Years, two thousand, and seven hundred People had received Meat, and Drink, and Money from Him. The annual Expences of his Household were four thousand Pounds. Such a Disbursement compared with the Rate at which Provisions were then sold, must be deemed astonishing. It is remarked (z), as a striking Instance of the great Humanity of this Lord, that he was satisfied, provided that He received his Rent from the Tenants on his Estate, and never exacted from them any extraordinary Service. This Circumstance hath been justly considered as a Proof that the absolute Power of the Sovereign (what was almost unavoidable,) had very generally countenanced the Nobility in Acts of Tyranny, exerted against the People (a).

Although *Burleigh* was a Lover of Frugality, and not possessed of any hereditary Estate, He maintained a Family, amounting to an hundred Servants (b). He kept a standing Table for Gentlemen, and two other Tables for Persons of inferior Rank, which were always served alike, whether He resided in Town, or in the Country. Individuals of the first Distinction were near his Person, and amongst his Retainers, He counted twenty Gentlemen, possessed, severally, of a thousand Pounds a Year. Of the ordinary Servants a like Num-

ber

(x) Camden.

(y) Stowe. p. 674.

(z) Ibid.

(a) Hume's History of England. Appendix. 3.

(b) Strype. V. 3. p. 129. Appendix.

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ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 479

ber were worth from one thousand, to three, five, ten,
 and twenty thousand Pounds (c). It must be remem-
 bered that, in Spite of the scanty Revenues of the Crown,
 during that Æra, the Ministers, and Courtiers, availing
 Themselves of an unlimited Prerogative, frequently
 amassed a more considerable Property than can be now
 derived from larger Salaries, and a more limited Au-
 thority (d).

Elizabeth was entertained by *Burleigh*, at his Seat,
 twelve several Times, and She stayed there during
 three, four, or five Weeks, at each Time. Every
 Visit put Him to the Expence of two, or three thou-
 sand Pounds (e). The Quantity of Silver Plate in the
 Possession of this Lord almost exceeds Belief. It
 weighed between fourteen, and fifteen thousand Pounds,
 and exclusive of the Fashion, must have been, in Value,
 equal to forty-two thousand Pounds, Sterling. The
 Author of the Life of *Burleigh* insinuates, that this
 Quantity of Plate was inconsiderable for a Nobleman
 of his exalted Rank; yet it was nearly equal to all the
 Rest of his Fortune, which, consisted of four thousand
 Pounds, a Year, in Land, (then commonly sold at
 ten Years Purchase,) and eleven thousand Pounds in
 Money. It appears that in those Days the Fashion of
 the Plate, which, probably, was inelegant, formed
 but an insignificant Part of the Value. The Weight
 alone was considered (f).

Amidst

(c) Life of *Burleigh*, published by Collins.

(d) Hume's History of England. Appendix. 3.

(e) Life of *Burleigh*, published by Collins. p. 40.

(f) This is evident from the Will of that Lord, who spe-
 cifies only the Number of Ounces to be given to each Le-
 gatee, and appoints a Goldsmith to see it weighed out to
 Them, without making any Distinction of Pieces.—Collins.
 Hume.

Amidst an Adherence to ancient Customs, the Nobility assumed a Taste for Elegance, and Refinement, and, not without attending to other Improvements, constructed Houses which are observed (g), to have been neat, large, and sumptuous, to the great Ornament of the Kingdom, but to the no less Decay of the glorious Hospitality of the Nation (h). A still more discerning Writer (i) than the Author of the preceding Remark, is of Opinion that it would be as reasonable to think that this new Turn of Expence promoted Arts, and Industry; whilst the ancient Hospitality was (with few Exceptions,) the Source of Vice, Disorder, Sedition, and Idleness. Relative to the Edifices constructed about this Period, an old Historian (k), introduces the following Passage. "The greatest Part of our Building in the Cities, and good Towns of England consisteth only of Timber, cast over with thick Clay, to keep out the Wind. Certes, this rude Kind of Building made the Spaniards in Queen Mary's Days to wonder; but chiefly, when They saw that large diet was used in many of these so homely Cottages, inasmuch, that One of no small Reputation amongst Them, said, after this Manner; These English (quoth He,) have their Houses made of Sticks, and Dirt, but They fare commonly so well as the King. Whereby it appeareth that He liked better of our good Fare in such coarse Cabins, than of their own thin Diet in their princely Habitations, and Palaces. The Clay with which our Houses are commonly impanelled is either white, or red, or blue."

(g) Camden. p. 452.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Mr. Hume.

(k) Harrison's Description of Britain, (printed in 1577). Book 2. Chap. 12.

Customs, the Nobility, and Refinement, her Improvements, served (g), to have to the great Ornament, less Decay of the (h). A still more Author of the preceding would be as reasonable. Expence promoted gent Hospitality was ce of Vice, Dis- ative to the Edifices a old Historian (k), "The greatest Part and good Towns of ber, cast over with Wind. Certes, this Spaniards in Queen chiefly, when They many of these so at One of no small after this Manner; e their Houses made fare commonly so t appeareth that He such coarse Cabins, their princely Habita- ith which our Houses her white, or red, or "blue."

ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c. 481

"blue." It is added, that the new Houses of the Nobility, were usually constructed either with Brick, or Stone; and that the *English* were beginning to ornament their Windows, with Panes of Glass (l).

The Elegance and Finery of Dress which, altho' Luxuries, are serviceable to the Interests of Commerce, were one of the great Studies of *Elizabeth*. Whilst She restrained by Proclamation, the Excesses of Apparel amongst her Subjects, She surpassed Them in the fanciful Magnificence, and Variety of her Habits. At her Death, the Number of Them in her Wardrobe amounted to three thousand (m); nor will the Reader be astonished that She was so plentifully supplied with Cloaths, when He is informed that She appeared every Day, in a different Dress, and was so fond of each, that She could never be prevailed on to part with a single Habit.

We, now, proceed to an Inquiry concerning the Revenues of *Elizabeth*; who, in all Instances, a rigid Oeconomist, and, in many, inclined to Avarice, seized every Opportunity of retrenching even the slightest Expence, and was known to have attended to the Charge of an Express, in Times, the most important and alarming (n). Eager to turn every Circumstance to her own Profit, She proceeded to unusual Lengths for the Purpose of procuring Money. The See of *Ely* was kept open during the Course of nineteen Years, that She might keep the Revenue in her own Hands (o); and almost at every Promotion of a Bishop, She retained some of his best Manors for her own Use (p). It

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must

(l) Camden, p. 452.

(m) Carte, V. 3. p. 702. from Beaumont's Dispatches.

(n) Birch's Negotiation, p. 21.

(o) Strype, Vol. 4. p. 351.

(p) Ibid. p. 215.

must be here observed that an Historian (g), who acquits Her of Avarice, although he doth not attribute her Oeconomy to a Regard for the Welfare of Her Subjects, is of Opinion that the real Source of this frugal Conduct was derived from her Desire of Independency, and her Zeal for the Maintenance of her Dignity, which might have been endangered, had She reduced Herself to the Necessity of recurring frequently to parliamentary Supplies. Consistently with this Motive, *Elizabeth*, although engaged in fortunate and necessary Wars, chose rather perpetually to dilapidate the royal Demesnes, than ask the Commons for the most moderate Supplies (r).

The great, and almost the sole heavy Expence incurred, by this Princess, was in the Support of the Magnificence of her Attire. In every other Respect, her careful Management of a small Revenue assisted Her to discharge a large Portion of the Debts contracted by the Crown. That She discharged the four Millions (s) which had been left on it, by her three immediate Predecessors, *Henry*, the Eighth, *Edward*, the Sixth, and *Queen Mary*, is scarcely to be credited. The Amount of her whole Revenue during ten Years was not equal to so enormous a Disbursement. The Assertions of a different Historian are more probable, and We may admit that the Sum paid was three hundred thousand Pounds, which, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Fifty-three, was owing from the Crown (t). The States were indebted to *Elizabeth*

(g) Mr. Hume.

(r) Rymer, V. 16. p. 141.—D'Ewes, p. 151. 457. 525. 629.—Bacon, Vol. 4. p. 363.—Hume's History of England Appendix 3.

(s) D'Ewes, p. 473.

(t) Strype's Eccles. Mem. V. 2. p. 344.

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Elizabeth, at her Decease, in the Sum of eight hundred thousand Pounds; and four hundred, and fifty thousand Pounds were due from the King of *France*, (u) who, notwithstanding his Frugality, and the Riches which He acquired, after the Peace at *Vervins*, ungratefully evaded the full Restitution of those Sums which had been liberally advanced for the Relief of his Distresses. The most eager Importunities, together with an affecting Representation of the Difficulties which, in Consequence of a Rebellion amongst the *Irish* were preparing to overwhelm Her, were insufficient to obtain from this unfeeling Monarch, a Return of more than twenty thousand Crowns, at one Payment, and fifty thousand at another (x). From the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Eighty-nine, to the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety-three, the Queen expended, in the Support of the War against the *Spaniards*, the Sum of one Million, and three hundred thousand Pounds, exclusive of a double Subsidy, which had been given by the Parliament, and amounted to two hundred, and eighty thousand Pounds (y). In the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety-nine, and within the Space of six Months, *Elizabeth* spent six hundred thousand Pounds, on the Service of *Ireland* (z). It was declared by *Sir Robert Cecil*, that this Kingdom had drawn from her, in the Course of ten Years, three Millions, and four hundred thousand Pounds (a). When *Essex*, previous to his Departure for *Ireland*, took Leave of his Sovereign, She exceeded the usual Limits of her Generosity, and bestowed on Him the Sum of thirty

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- (u) Winwood, V. 1. p. 29. 54.
- (x) Ibid. p. 117. 195.
- (y) D' Ewes, p. 483.
- (z) Camden, p. 167.
- (a) Appendix to the Earl of Essex's Apology.

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thousand Pounds, the more effectually to support the Dignity, and Power of a Vice-Roy (*b*). The Value of the Presents conferred on this accomplished Favourite, are rated (although, perhaps, with some Exaggeration) by the Lord *Burleigh*, at three hundred thousand Pounds. In the frugal *Elizabeth*, so extraordinary a Liberality must be placed to Love. It was frequently observed, during this Reign, that "*The Queen pays bountifully, although She rewards sparingly (c)*."

Precisely to ascertain the ordinary Revenue of *Elizabeth*, is a Point of some Difficulty. We should wander widely from the Mark, by fixing it so high as five hundred thousand Pounds a Year. It hath been observed (*d*), that the Profit of the Kingdom, exclusive of the Wards, and the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, which amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds, was one hundred, and eighty-eight thousand, and one hundred, and ninety-seven Pounds; in which Computation the Crown Lands appear to have been included.

The Customs were raised, in the Year, one Thousand, five Hundred, and Ninety, from fourteen thousand, to fifty thousand Pounds a Year, in Pursuance of an Order from *Elizabeth*, who compelled Sir *Thomas Smith* to refund a Part of his pecuniary Acquisition, during the Time that He had been allowed to farm Them.

(*e*) This Improvement of the Revenue, opposed, without Effect, by the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord *Burleigh*, and

(*b*) Birch's Memoirs, V. 2.

(*c*) Nanton's Regalia, Chap. 1.

(*d*) Franklyn's Annals, p. 9.

(*e*) Camden, p. 558.—Mr. Hume justly observes that this Account of Camden, is either difficult, or impossible to be reconciled to the State of the Customs at the Commencement of the subsequent Reign, as They appear in the Journals of the Commons.

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and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, was suggested by one *Carmarthen* to the Queen, who immediately resolved to introduce it.

It is remarked, by a discerning Investigator (f), that the great Undertakings accomplished by *Elizabeth*, with so scanty a Revenue, and such small Supplies from her People, prove the powerful Effects of her Wisdom, and Oeconomy. During the whole Course of her Reign, She had received from her Parliament, only twenty Subsidies, and thirty-nine Fifteenths. He pretends not to determine exactly the Amount of these Supplies; because the Value of a Subsidy was continually falling; and, towards the Conclusion of her Reign, amounted only to eighty thousand Pounds (g), although, at the Commencement it had risen to an hundred, and twenty thousand Pounds. He adds, that We may perhaps approach nearer to the Truth, by supposing the Sum of three Millions to be the Total of the Supplies granted, during a Reign of forty-five Years by the Parliament to *Elizabeth*. This is at the Rate of sixty-six thousand, six hundred, and sixty-six Pounds a Year (h).

He concludes by expressing his Astonishment that *Elizabeth* should ever have found it difficult to obtain a parliamentary Supply, or have been driven to the Necessity of parting with the Crown Lands, since her Demands were so reasonable, and her Expences so moderate, and judiciously directed. But, during that Æra, the Parsimony of the Commons was carried to Extremes, which

(f) Mr. Hume.

(g) D' Ewes, 630.

(h) The Supplies were reckoned by Lord Salisbury, at two Millions, and eight hundred thousand Pounds. Journals of the House of Commons, February 17, 1609.—King James mistook when He imagined that the Queen's Supplies amounted to one hundred and thirty-five thousand Pounds, a Year. Franklyn's Annals, p. 49.

which sometimes bordered on Absurdity. Accustomed to esteem Nothing so valuable as their Money, and intirely unconnected with the Court, They imagined that the most faithful Execution of their Duty to their Constituents was to reduce the Demands of the Crown, and to grant as few Supplies as possible. By the Crown the Parliament had never been considered but as the Means of Supply. *Elizabeth* put in her Claim to the favourable Opinion of her People, on the Ground of having seldom convened a Parliament (*i*), from whom a Redress of Grievances was not expected, and who were imagined to meet only for the Purpose of laying Taxes.

Previous to the Accession of *Elizabeth*, the voluntary Loans were raised by the *English* Sovereigns from *Antwerp*; and their Credit was at so low an Ebb, that exclusive of the Obligation to allow an Interest of ten, and even twelve *per Cent.* they were under the constant Necessity of engaging the Citizens of *London*, to join in the Security. That illustrious Patron of Industry, and Trade, Sir *Thomas Gresham*, prevailed on the Company of Merchant-Adventurers to lend a Sum of Money to *Elizabeth*. The punctual Payment of it proved the Means of establishing her Credit within the City, and She, thenceforward, was released from the Necessity of borrowing Abroad (*k*).

We must next take Notice of the Coinage: By an Indenture of the second Year of the Reign of *Elizabeth*, a Pound Weight of Gold of the old Standard, of twenty-three Carats, three Grains, and a half, fine, was coined into thirty-six Pounds, by Tale; namely, into twenty-four Sovereigns, at thirty Shillings a Piece, or forty-eight Rials, at fifteen Shillings, or seventy-two Angels, at ten Shillings a Piece, or one hundred, and forty-four

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(i) Strype, V. 4. p. 124.

(k) Stowe's Survey of London: Book I. p. 286.

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Half-Angels, at five Shillings a Piece: and a Pound-Weight of Crown Gold, of twenty-two Carats, fine, and two Carats Alloy, was coined into thirty-three Pounds, by Tale; namely, thirty-three Sovereigns, at twenty Shillings a Piece, or sixty-six Half-Sovereigns, at ten Shillings a Piece, or one hundred, and thirty-two Crowns, at five Shillings a Piece, or two hundred, and fifty-four Half-Crowns. A Pound-Weight of the Old Sterling Silver; namely, eleven Ounces, and two Penny-Weights, fine, and eighteen Penny-Weights, Alloy, was coined into three Pounds by Tale, of Half-Shillings, Groats, Quarter-Shillings, Half-Groats, Pieces of three Half-Pence, Pence, and Farthings. In the Nineteenth Year of this Reign, a Pound of Gold, of the old Standard, was coined into seventy-two Angels, at ten Shillings a Piece, one hundred, and forty-four Half-Angels, at five-Shillings a Piece, or two hundred, and eighty-one Quarter-Angels, amounting in Tale to thirty-six Pounds: and a Pound of Old Sterling Silver, into Half-Shillings, three Pences, three half-penny, or three farthing Pieces, to make three Pounds by Tale; and, in the twenty-fifth Year, into sixty Shillings, or into three Pounds, by Tale. In the twenty-sixth Year, a Pound-Troy of old Standard Gold was coined into forty-eight Nobles, at fifteen Shillings a Piece, or twenty-four double Nobles, at thirty Shillings a Piece, making thirty-six Pounds. In the thirty-fifth Year of this Reign, a Pound-Weight of Gold, of twenty-two Carats, fine, and two Carats, Alloy, was coined into thirty-three Sovereigns, at twenty Shillings a Piece, or sixty-six Half-Sovereigns, or one hundred, and thirty-two Crowns, or two hundred, and sixty-four Half-Crowns, making thirty-three Pounds by Tale. In the forty-third Year, the Pound-Weight of old Standard Gold was coined into seventy-three Angels, at ten Shil-
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lings a Piece, or one hundred, and forty-six Half-Angels, or two hundred and ninety-two Quarter-Angels, making thirty-six Pounds, and ten Shillings, in Tale; and the Pound-Weight of Gold, of seventy-two Carats, fine, and two Carats Alloy, into thirty-three Sovereigns, and a Half, at twenty Shillings a Piece, or sixty-seven Half-Sovereigns, or an hundred, and thirty-four Crowns, or two hundred, and sixty-eight Half-Crowns, making thirty-three Pounds, and ten Shillings, in Tale; and the Pound-Weight of old Standard Silver into three Pounds and two Shillings (l), by Tale, namely, into Crowns, Half-Crowns, Shillings, Sixpences, Twopences, Pence, and Half-Pence (m).

We shall conclude the Remarks on the Coinage, with a Passage from a discerning Writer (n), to whose Work We are so particularly indebted for the Materials of our own.

“ The Memory of *Elizabeth* is rendered particularly respectable by the great Care which She took of the Coin. We have already shewed how shamefully it was debased, during the Reigns of *Henry*, the Eighth, and *Edward*, the Sixth. Notwithstanding that *Queen Mary* had

(l) This Innovation of the Coin, by the Division of a Pound of Silver, into sixty-two instead of Sixty Shillings, the former Standard, is rightly judged impolitic. The Coin hath not been since tampered with in *England*.—Hume. Appendix. 3.

(m) Rapin's History of England, V. 7. 8vo. p. 387, 388. Madox's History of the Exchequer.—Camden's Remains.—St. 5. Eliz. Cap. 11.—Stowe's Chronicle, p. 646.—647.—Sir Robert Cotton's Postuma, p. 179.—Lowndes's Essay.—F. Moryson, Itin. Par. 1. Lib. 3. Cap. 6.—Appendix to the Life of Sir Thomas Smith, p. 137.—Bishop Nicholson's Historical Library, Folio, p. 266, 267.

(n) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 505, 506, 507, 508.

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had put a Stop to this pernicious Practice, yet the Circumstances of her Affairs prevented Her from pursuing Measures for an effectual Amendment, and the base Coin continued to have a Currency, although it began to sink in Value. The last Circumstance, did not, however, deter the Foreigners from pouring in vast Quantities of that mixed Money, to the great Detriment of the Nation, notwithstanding that Mary expostulated with her Neighbours on the Subject, and did all in her Power to prevent it (e). Immediately after the Accession of Elizabeth, the Lord Burleigh, and Sir Thomas Smith, whose Papers on that Head are still extant, not only convinced Her that a Train of Evils would result from a debased Coinage, but clearly proved that it was not the short Ends of Wit, or some slight and temporary Devices that could sustain the Expence of a great Monarchy, but sound and solid Courses. I make Use of their Expressions, which, although not elegant, are exceeding emphatical. They, therefore, exhorted Her to pursue the Steps of her great Grandfather, Edward, the Fourth, and, rejecting all Expedients, as ineffectual in Themselves, and unworthy of Her, to strike at the Root of the Evil, without Delay. These were admirable, and solid Counsels."

The Queen followed this Advice (f), and, by a Proclamation, in the second Year of her Reign, called in all the debased Money, directing it to be marked
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(e) Camden. Annal. Eliz. V. 1. p. 75, 76.—Stowe, p. 646, 647.—Stryke's Annals, V. 1. Chap. 22. p. 264, 265.—Lord Burleigh's Diary in Murdin's Collection, p. 751.

(f) It was at this Period Elizabeth employed Sir Thomas Gresham to borrow for Her, from the Citizens of Antwerp, the Sum of two hundred thousand Pounds, for the Purpose of amending the Coinage.—MS. of the Earl of Hardwicke, from the Paper Office, p. 295.

with a Greyhound, Port Cullice, Lion, Harp, Rose, or *Fleur de Lys*, to distinguish the intrinsic Value of the Pieces, it being her Intention to refine the Coin, not according to the Legal, but natural Estimation of Money; and therefore, She gave Orders that foreign Coin, and Bullion should be brought to her Mint, as there was, from eight thousand, to twenty thousand Pounds every Week, and the like Quantity of Gold, in *Spanish Pistoles*, for the Space of about six Months, when She repaid her Subjects the full Value of the Silver, in pure Money of that Standard, which hath since continued, and which was fixed, after mature Deliberation, and with a just Regard to the Value at which Silver, and Gold was, during that Period, estimated, in foreign Countries. At the Commencement of the very next Year, the Majority of the Privy-Council recommended the Introduction of a fresh Debasement, but the Lord *Burligh*, then *Sir William Cecil*, and Secretary of State, withstood this Measure, as during his Life-Time, He did every other Project of the Kind, with a Vehemence of Language and Strength of Argument which induced *Elizabeth* to persist in her first Design."

"When this great Undertaking was thoroughly perfected, the Queen took Occasion to acquaint her People in a Proclamation, that She had now, conquered the Monster which had so long devoured Them, &c. In the Preamble of an Act of Parliament passed in the fifth Year of her Reign, it is with singular Propriety recited, that "by her great Goodness, new Money had been coined of the same Fineness, as in the Time of her noble Progenitors." Neither was this famous Act forgotten in the Inscription placed upon her Monument, when the Mention of Her having restored Religion to its primitive Sincerity, and establish-

ed a lasting Tranquility, is followed by the Observation that She reduced the Coin to its just Value (g). Hence, We may perceive how great an Action this was, and of what lasting Benefit to the Kingdom."

It may, however, contribute, not a little to our Satisfaction, if We enquire what Quantity of Coin, both Gold, and Silver, might be in the Nation, towards the Close of her Reign, or at the Commencement of the last Century, because it is of very great Consequence to obtain a clear Idea of the national Stock, in ready Money, at that Period, when our great foreign Commerce was first established. We have, indeed, an authentic Account of her Coinages in Silver, amounting to about four Millions and a Half; but, then, if We consider that She recoin'd almost the whole Silver Specie in the Kingdom, and that there was a small Alteration of the Standard, towards the latter End of her Reign, which rais'd Silver from five Shillings, to five and two Pence, an Ounce, which occasioned a new Fabrication, so that much of the former Coin came into the Mint again, as Bullion, We may, with the judicious Doctor *Davenant*, estimate the Silver Coin, during that Period, within the Kingdom, at two Millions, and a Half, to which, if we add the Gold of her own, and of her Predecessor's Coin, and rate this, at a Million, and a Half, We may be tolerably sure that We are not much wide of the Truth, and that, one hundred, and fifty Years ago, the current Coin of *England* amounted in the Whole, to four Millions or thereabouts."

"As the Restoration of the Coin, was in Effect the Means of setting the first Wheel in Motion, so this, being thus early placed right, every subordinate

Part

(g) *Moneta ad suum Valorem redacta.*

Part of general Commerce began to resume its respective Force, and the Willingness which the Queen shewed, upon each Occasion, to facilitate all Designs whatsoever for the Improvement of her Dominions, the Employment of her Subjects, and the Sale of the Produce of their Industry, was so powerful in its Consequences, that by rapid Degrees, the Face of Things had undergone a total, and successful Alteration. All the Complaints which had formerly been made against the System of Government were, now, converted into a general Approbation, proceeding from the most valuable Part of the Subjects of *Elizabeth*, by whom must be understood Those who felt a Desire, in all Cheerfulness, and Honesty, of augmenting their Possessions, and of turning to the utmost Advantage the laudable Zeal, which their Sovereign had displayed for the Encouragement of those Measures which were the most conducive for the Welfare of the Public."

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